

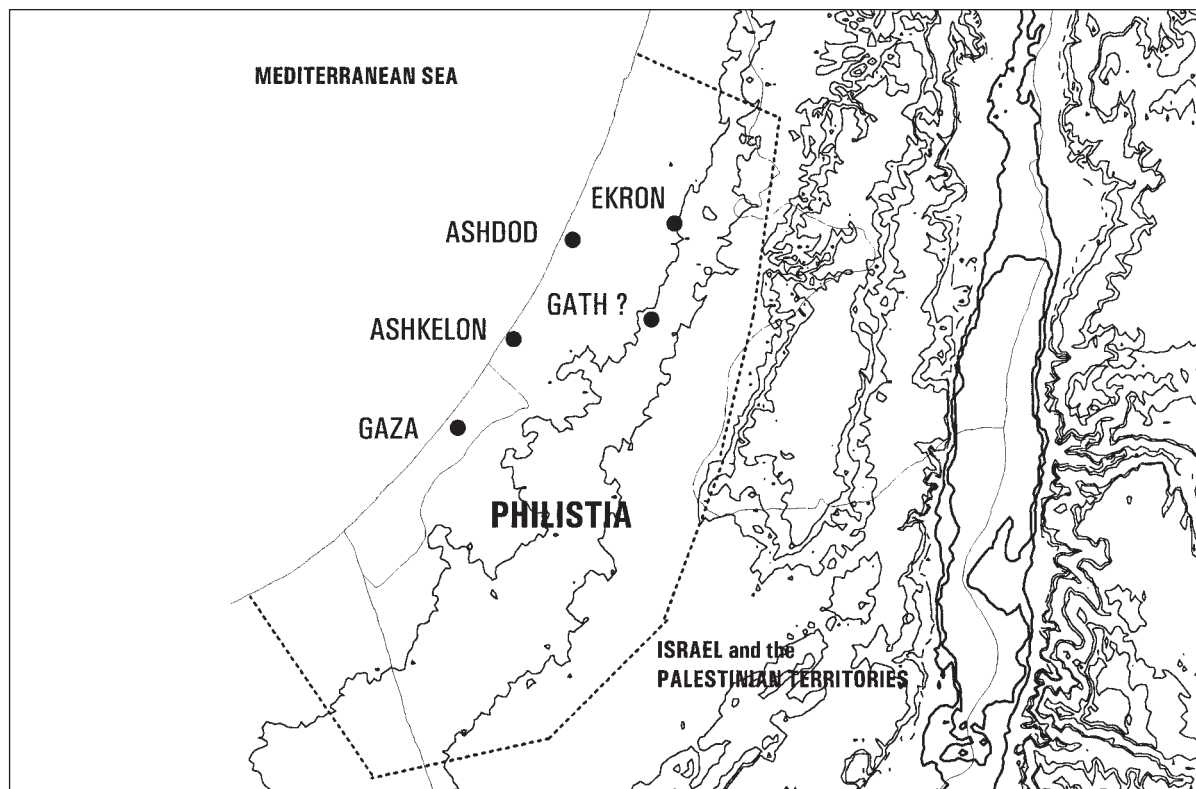
# Political strategies and the settlement pattern in early Iron Age Philistia

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The archaeology in the coastal parts of the Palestine Territories and the southern coast of Israel (*fig. 1*) has always aroused scientific interest and emotional discussions even though, in comparison with neighbouring Egypt and Syria, the uncovered objects are rarely aesthetically impressing. But since some Egyptologists have argued that this could have been the region where the infamous 'Peleset', linked to the Philistines mentioned in the Bible, settled down, the region has become full part of the Biblical Archaeology. The name 'Peleset' has been given by Ramses III to one group of his enemies, whom he called 'People of the Sea', and who were defeated in a battle in 1175 BC (low chronology) or year eight of his reign. This event is fully described and depicted

on the walls of the temple at Medinet Habu.<sup>1</sup> It remains unclear if Ramses III knew these people already as mercenaries to the Egyptian military forces before this event. In the Harris Papyrus the pharaoh recounts that he placed them after their defeat in southern Palestine as military troops under Egyptian control.<sup>2</sup> Then, apparently he and his successors lose control over southern Palestine in the following decades. History is taken up again at about the eighth and seventh c. BC when the Biblical stories took form and the Philistines became known to us as the foes of the Israelites. At that point in time, they were sketched as a unified and ethnic homogeneous group by both the Israelites<sup>3</sup> and the Assyrians.<sup>4</sup>

No historic documents are available for early



*Fig. 1. The approximate borders of ancient Philistia and the location of five urban centres of the early Iron*

Iron Age Philistia (c. 1180/1130 BC–c. 1000 BC). However, it has become standard to consider the archaeological data relating to this period as formed also by one group with the same salient ethnic identity.<sup>5</sup> This implies that the Philistines remained coherent in social and political structure during this period and later. Yet, one has to realise that they were defined as a group by actors from outside the social sphere of Philistia: the Pharaoh(s) and the Israelites. Further, the political organisation of the urban centres in Philistia (*fig. 1*), flourishing in the early Iron Age, is often taken for granted and thought to reflect that of a classic and traditionally defined city-state.<sup>6</sup> Since the Bible<sup>7</sup> refers to the existence of five Philistine cities (Ashkelon, Gaza, Ashdod, Ekron and Gath), together forming a federation, the early Iron Age political system of Philistia is usually termed the 'Pentapolis'<sup>8</sup> while still others consider it to have been an 'amphictyony'.<sup>9</sup> It is immediately evident that both of these Greek terms are not only entirely foreign to the region of Palestine, but also largely conventional and leave no room for any dynamism within the described political organisation or for any regional diversity. The use of these terms is a result of the application of the political vocabulary of the Bible which is adapted to the situation of the later Israelite kingdom(s).<sup>10</sup> This article would like to show that the archaeological data teach us that the political organisation of the early Iron Age society in Philistia was group-oriented and also largely faceless and that there is no archaeological evidence for kings or any state formation at that period, in contrast with the later Iron Age.

While I will concentrate here on the political aspect of Philistine society, it will become clear that ideological, economic and military power interferes with political power.<sup>11</sup> This political power is by definition a centralised, institutionalised and territorialized regulation of many aspects of social relations. In order to be effective, any power has to become institutionalised and political power will become a centralised – territorial as well as a geopolitical – diplomatic institution. The centralised and territorial aspect of political power makes it different from the other power sources (e.g. economical power) and sometimes leads it to dominate them. Archaeological data from Philistia suggest that the Philistines were aware of these two aspects of political power and used them to strengthen a new group cohesion in the early Iron Age. What is argued then is that processes of change in the socio-political sphere manifest themselves from the end of

the Late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age in Philistia under the form of political strategies which resemble, but do not necessarily equal, those traditionally ascribed by archaeologists to chiefdoms. Yet, the focus in this paper remains with the diverse methods used in the past by the Philistines<sup>12</sup> themselves in their socio-political organization and does not favour any attempt to classify at any cost the society of Philistia as an old-fashioned sociological type created by modern archaeologists. It is further shown that the emergence of a new and adapted socio-political organization forms an immediate response to the social crisis at the end of the Late Bronze Age (towards 1200 BC), understandable in terms of chaos theory, as discussed below. I regard the most obvious material correlate of this whole process to be the shift in settlement pattern. Information on the settlement pattern and size in both the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age has so far never been used to reconstruct the political system.

#### A SPATIAL AXIOM

Archaeologists who use the settlement pattern of a society in order to reconstruct its social organization, its political system and hence the overall power relations of that society, in fact accept an axiomatic notion of spatial analysis. They assume that social organization directly affects, and is reflected by, the settlement pattern and the spatial distribution of cultural elements. Most archaeologists seem to agree on this, though some researchers have taken this point slightly further in order to leave more room for a dynamic relation between architecture and social relations and thereby they view space not only as a reflection of society, but also as a set of strategies in relation to social form.<sup>13</sup> For us archaeologists, remains of these social relations are the material part of past communication, always spatially distributed in the landscape. It is up to the archaeologist to find the relation between the constructed landscape, that contains physical structures such as monuments which alter the view of the environment, and the social practices that were connected with that constructed landscape. This can be done because the exercise of past (and present) political power required the translation into terms which are materially visible and intelligible, a process central to human territoriality.<sup>14</sup> When one specifically studies a political system and its relation to the settlement pattern, there are two elements which merit extra attention and which

directly refer to our definition of political power:

- the character of the settlement hierarchy or the degree of centralization, and
- the potential presence of a political territory.

Territory, or the spatial control of people, is but one aspect of territoriality which is itself primarily based on confrontation or explicit non-confrontation of various groups, often politically organized, which results in exclusion, and exclusion of course implies distance.<sup>15</sup> However, the physical reconstruction of territorial markers is not easy. Further, research has long stressed that archaeologically defined cultural assemblages cannot give conclusive information on borders whether social, ethnic or political.<sup>16</sup> Suggestions have been made that 'stationary' archaeological data, in our case the Philistine constructed landscape, would stand a better chance as a territorial marker since this constructed landscape is the omni-present stage for the daily social interaction in which territoriality is constantly negotiated. As such, shifts in settlement pattern would reflect changes in socio-political organization. I will thus look into the differences in settlement pattern at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age in Philistia in order to test this theory and we will compare the result with other (portable) archaeological material.

#### OBSERVING THE LANDSCAPE IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

The study of the settlement pattern of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1400-1200 BC) has the advantage that archaeological results can be tested against Egyptian historical documents, particularly the Amarna letters.<sup>17</sup> These suggest that Philistia was characterized by a fragmented political landscape of urban centres that executed a certain independent power within a limited territory under Egyptian supervision, a picture confirmed by the archaeological record.<sup>18</sup> During this period, Philistia shows an obvious and regularly distributed site-size hierarchy of three ranks. It is unclear, however, if or how territorial boundaries were materially defined, but rank-size analysis makes it plausible that the territory was outlined by the intentional establishment of settlements, for example by the placing of frontier sites.<sup>19</sup> However, despite an apparently strong hierarchical organization, the integration of these small polities within the Egyptian empire seems not to have been very effective. Most scholars would therefore agree that, towards the end of the Late Bronze Age, the Egyptian authority tried to maintain its control by

the increased use of coercive power<sup>20</sup> or an increasing expression of its ideology by means of material elements.<sup>21</sup> Notwithstanding these efforts, some regions in Palestine, including Philistia, moved out of direct Egyptian political control. These small polities may then perhaps be described anachronistically as 'balkanised provinces' rather than using the term city-states.<sup>22</sup> Yet, these disintegrated regions quickly proved unable to sustain themselves. Bunimovitz<sup>23</sup> argued that even before this disintegration, these small political entities had only been integrated within the Egyptian empire at a low and unstable level. Their internal hierarchical systems at that time were certainly not a symbol of localized prosperity or of a stable political organization. Indeed, these political entities appear to have been more engaged in rivalry and in developing a conspicuous consumption in order to maintain their power relations. This idea corresponds to Cherry's law of energy which implies that there is a general inverse relationship between the degree of investment in ideology and the strength of the political authority/coercive power.<sup>24</sup> This situation of increasing consumption would, in particular, have led to a serious lack of human resources.<sup>25</sup> The hierarchical settlement pattern at the end of the Late Bronze Age is therefore not reflecting a firm control by a governing body over its territory but rather social instability.

#### OBSERVING THE LANDSCAPE IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

It is much less clear how political territories were organized in the early Iron Age, at least from historical sources. Archaeologically, there seems to be no trace so far of boundary markers or anything which could have had this connotation such as burial mounds, frontier sanctuaries or boundary stelae. The largest sites and mounds in Philistia, often well over 10 hectares, probably functioned as the most visible territorial markers. This applies especially to the cities of Gath and Ekron situated as they are on the edge of the fertile coastal plain, thereby marking the limits of the coastal plain and the hill country and probably consolidating a geographical border between two cultural spheres.<sup>26</sup> In general, it can be observed that the settlement pattern in Philistia drastically changes from the Late Bronze to the early Iron Age. However, where not long ago the opinion prevailed that the apparent disappearance of the complex Canaanite culture equalled the end of urbanized culture, this view has been successfully challenged by new archaeological evidence from

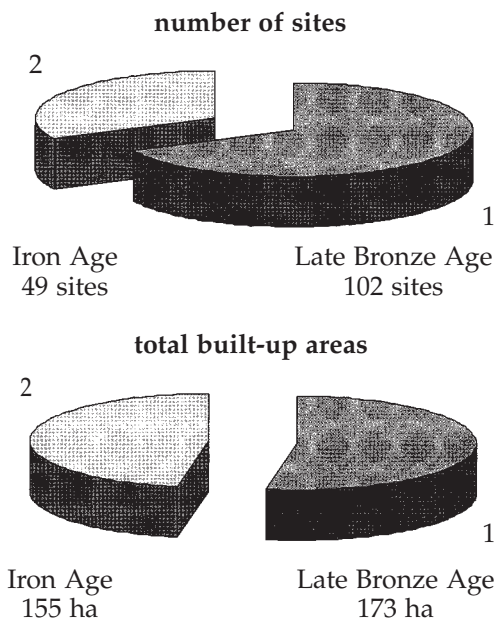


Fig. 2. Number of sites and the total built-up area in Philistia in both the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age.

urban sites suggesting a continuing and flourishing urban culture.<sup>27</sup> It is true, however, that many of the smaller dispersed settlements, formerly integrated within the Late Bronze Age hierarchical system, have now disappeared. This did not entail a serious decline of the total population, for the total inhabited area within the sites remains more or less the same as shown in a detailed study by Finkelstein.<sup>28</sup> This built-up area changes from an estimated 173 hectares in the Late Bronze Age to 155 hectares in Iron Age I. At the same time, the data show that there are fewer sites in the Iron Age but that those sites become larger in size (fig. 2). During the Late Bronze Age, only two sites seem to have been larger than 10 hectares, while in the early Iron Age there were at least five. The conclusion seems then that there was rather a consolidation and not a decline in the number of people in this period.

Even with this extensive dataset, a rank size analysis for the early Iron Age is a difficult enterprise because it is extremely hard to estimate the exact size of a multiple period and unexcavated site at a given period. Often, there is no other solution than to work with approximate categories of sites and currently this is how most of the data are presented in archaeological reports.<sup>29</sup> However, the fact that we lack medium-sized sites in the early Iron Age and have few big sites

as well as relatively few small sites within one region, makes it plausible that a rank-size analysis would show a primary distribution as in our attempt in figure 3. This primary distribution corresponds to increased integration, something which is apparently quite common in small polities, within starting societies or in systems with more simple economies.<sup>30</sup> We might thus be looking at a society with a high degree of regional political integration, yet with a simple economy. This is contrary to our interpretation of the archaeological data of the Late Bronze Age when all sites were incorporated within an empire with a complex economic system.

#### SEVERAL POWER BASES

To explain the patterning in this data, it may be interesting to apply chaos theory, a theory which allows us specifically to focus on the process of the turmoil at the end of the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, and not only on the actual multiple causes triggering it.<sup>31</sup> Although the theory is derived from a mathematical simulation model, chaos theory proposes that a dissipative structure, in casu a political one, can disintegrate into smaller units down to the regional level due to a disruption of the information flow.<sup>32</sup> In sociological terms, this results in the breakdown of both the inter-regional trade networks and cooperative alliances. The disruption is then followed by active experimentation within the disintegrated regions and afterwards by a reintegration of the segments within a new organizational principle. The segments in question are the political structures within the disintegrated regions, being small regions within Philistia centred around an urban site. Stone argues that, although the disintegration will be archaeologically visible in nearly all aspects of the human society, radical changes may occur without a massive depopulation of the region, or later repopulation.<sup>33</sup> This is important since some scholars argue that the changes in Philistia could only be the result of a substantial influx of immigrants.<sup>34</sup> She further suggests that the regional competition will increase during the experimentation phase.<sup>35</sup> The appearance of Philistine cultural traits, described as archaeological artefacts, form part of this active experimentation within a new organizational principle that would gradually transform itself well into the eighth century BC.

The experimentation which took place in the political organisation resembles very closely some of the political strategies that have traditionally been ascribed to the sociological type of 'chief-



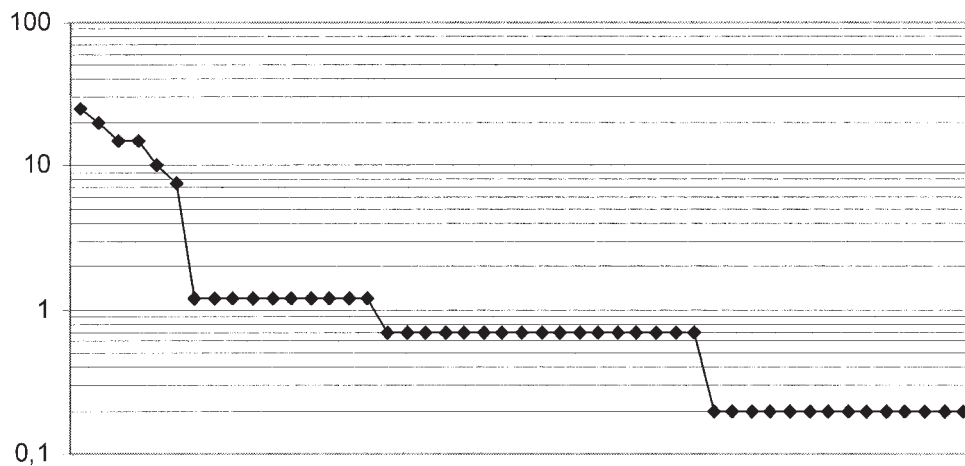


Fig. 3. A rank-size analysis based on estimated site size for each site in early Iron Age Philistia.

dom'.<sup>36</sup> However, I do not want to make use of the social typology as too often rigidly applied by many archaeologists. It is therefore not suggested here that early Iron Age Philistia was characterized by 'chiefdoms'. On the contrary, the argument wants to stimulate scholars to re-evaluate the classification of the Philistine urban centres as superficial type-examples of city-states, as just another sociological type, with which they share but a few insignificant characteristics. My focus remains on the strategies used and not on the classification within any type as a whole. The political strategies used by the Philistine governing elite for which I do find archaeological evidence in Philistia are:

1. the introduction of social adjustments in order to concentrate and coordinate the people,
2. the undertaking of communal projects,
3. a renewed control of authoritative resources.

#### *The coordination of people*

Any elite which is politically in charge tries to control the flow of energy resulting from economic activities/resources and the information connected with it.<sup>37</sup> This happens through the control of allocative resources<sup>38</sup> that consist of material features of the environment, production technologies and finished goods. One of the allocative resources is human labour and rulers would have to adopt socio-political structures by which they gain enduring and privileged access to the labour of others.<sup>39</sup> This partly explains the sketch of the situation in the Late Bronze Age as given by Bunimovitz<sup>40</sup> who argues that the resources during this period are at the centre of a

struggle. He suggests that in particular the human labour was not large enough to keep pace with the conspicuous consumption in that period. As mentioned earlier, the overall population numbers seem not to have changed from Late Bronze Age to early Iron Age but people seem to have been concentrated in larger, urban centres. This, first of all, implies a reduction of habitation centres and in the number of nodes in the information flow system and thus a reduction in possibilities for disruption. Political leaders were obviously capable of physically integrating the population in a smaller area. This was not simply a result of the city's ability to provide a safe retreat, for the Late Bronze Age was anything but a more peaceful period than the early Iron Age. I do think that this concentration of people was part of a political economy whereby labour, as an economic resource, was re-concentrated and thus better controlled by the governing body. The ability to organise and command a high level of mobilization and thus the use of intensive power, is as such already an indication of a centralised political organisation in that region.<sup>41</sup>

#### *The undertaking of communal projects*

Communal monuments can play a central role in a society, both during the act of their construction, and when they are repeatedly reconfirmed as pivotal spaces in society during public ceremonies or daily use. The undertaking of a communal project also acknowledges the power over human labour that a central leader or government possesses. No huge public complexes, barrows or earth works have been discovered in Philistia and

the only serious building projects in Philistia we know of were the reconstructions of the cities and their city walls and gates which in several examples must have been impressive.<sup>42</sup> The construction of fortifications had for M. Dothan and T. Dothan a direct bearing on the political history. It implied that the Philistines had the permission of the pharaoh to settle down and they were granted a measure of political autonomy.<sup>43</sup> However, fortifications were perhaps not the ultimate symbol of political independence but they certainly played a role in the political *discourse* since this 'project' and its lasting effect on, for instance, ancestral memory must have exercised an important binding influence on the members of society in Philistia.

#### *A renewed control of authoritative resources*

Authoritative resources are those involved in the dominion over the social world itself or practices through which meaning is imposed on life and nature.<sup>44</sup> Ritual social interaction has always been such an authoritative resource for the generation of both ideological and political power. The ritual sphere had, here as well, to corroborate the new ideology of power. Service and Fried<sup>45</sup> wrote that ritualisation of social integration increases as the basic settlement units become more dispersed. In reverse, this could mean that the concentration of habitation during the early Iron Age may have reduced the need for integration by using symbolic activities. This is illustrated by the archaeological material from Philistine cult places which have been excavated as at Tel Mique,<sup>46</sup> Ashdod<sup>47</sup> and Tel Qasile.<sup>48</sup> These architectural complexes show a clear link between economic and ideological control<sup>49</sup> and, although lacking elaborate architecture or prestigious objects, the mere absence of such conspicuous material culture is relevant and must have repercussions in the political sphere. Recurrent features in these cult places are hearths, iron knives and bovine scapulas.<sup>50</sup> The iron knives probably come from Cyprus<sup>51</sup> and represent continuing economic trade contacts of the elite with the Mediterranean. Other evidence suggests that the Philistines were not very active trade merchants.<sup>52</sup> This may be so but when the total number of imports is limited, their exotic value increases. The iron knives, in this case, could indeed have served as new objects of prestige<sup>53</sup> or even as some kind of 'wealth finance',<sup>54</sup> stressing the economic importance of its owner. Although the scale of the ritual behaviour was moderated by the physical integration

of the elite in one centre, some new ritualised system was apparently developed to integrate the different identity and ethnic groups in this new social structure.<sup>55</sup> We may therefore imagine rituals taking place at regular time intervals in which hearths and cow scapulas, as musical instruments or rather as remains of meals, played a significant role. In these rituals we see a unique crossing of ideological and economic power. Here, the elite displayed its trade contacts (iron trade) and its control over the breeding of cattle.<sup>56</sup> To the symbols of this economic power, iron knives and communal meals, they assigned an ideological value. Guarding their economic power base, the elite was also able to control access to the ideological system. The combination of both resources formed, no doubt, the support for the political claims of that elite.

This commonly accepted ideology will then have been the arena in which political competition took place. On the other hand, there is no evidence for a lavish public display of, for instance, feasting so common to factional competition. The rituals do not seem to have had a public character but were rather designed for a small public. Further, within this political competition in early Iron Age Philistia individuals hold on a low-profile for while political factions are usually under the control of a leader, the archaeological evidence for such powerful individuals in the early Iron Age is not existing. It appears that political competition did not involve a larger public.

#### ONE PHILISTINE POLITICAL PARTY?

In all these efforts to consolidate political power archaeology never encounters any fingerprint of an individual. Many scholars have supported the idea of a Philistine kingship even though the direct archaeological evidence for this remains absent in the early Iron Age. There are at present no traces of Philistine central buildings with an administration, there are no original Philistine textual references to rulers and there is poor evidence for royal burials in Iron I. Even the symbols of power, such as the iron knives, are not individualised and had a multiple function. This could all result from a hiatus in the archaeological research yet, the archaeological coverage of the region can be equalled by only a few other regions in the world.

It has therefore been suggested in this paper that shifts in settlement pattern from Late Bronze Age to early Iron Age Philistia hint at some important socio-political strategies in response to

a disruption of existing social patterns which could be explained by chaos theory. Evidence from the ritual sphere corroborates this view. The archaeological evidence further supports the thesis of a political organisation where rulers are faceless and anonymous and where political actions are group-oriented. The creation of new prestige objects and a new ideology served the formation of a communal identity for a politically active elite whose precise ethnic identity is still unknown and, in my opinion, is a question of less importance. The governing elite most likely had to incorporate a variety of groups: ethnic, social and other, possibly even immigrants. What really counted was their ability to successfully re-coordinate these people. Particularly interesting is that changes and strategies can also be identified in neighbouring regions, perhaps in reaction to the same principles of chaos theory, though resulting in different responses. The pattern in the settlement trajectories, followed by the inhabitants of the hill country<sup>57</sup> or by the Phoenicians<sup>58</sup> are entirely different, the result, undoubtedly, of other socio-political experiments.

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#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> For further references see Dothan & Dothan 1992.
- <sup>2</sup> Cited in Dothan & Dothan 1992, 27.
- <sup>3</sup> Gitin 1998, 163.
- <sup>4</sup> Two rulers of the city of Ekron, Ikausu and his father Padi, are known from Assyrian records (680-667 BC). They are called: 'kings of Ekron'. See Gitin et al. 1997, 11; Pritchard 1969, 291-294.
- <sup>5</sup> E.g. Dothan & Dothan 1992; Stager 1995.
- <sup>6</sup> Aharoni 1979, 270; Nichols & Carlton 1997; Singer 1993.
- <sup>7</sup> Singer 1993; Josh. [13: 2-3], 1 Sam. [4: 1-10].
- <sup>8</sup> Block-Smith & Alpert Nakhai 1999, 90.
- <sup>9</sup> Rathjen 1965 and taken up again by Singer 1993, 133.
- <sup>10</sup> The Bible speaks about kings which were known from contemporary societies surrounding Israel. Even the ruler of Ashdod has been described as a king by the Assyrian king Nebuchadnezzar who conquered Philistia around 600 BC, and earlier in an inscription in the palace of Khorsabad (713 BC) Tiglath-Pileser III speaks of Azuri, another king of Ashdod. However, this can not be taken

- as evidence for the situation 400 to 500 years earlier.
- <sup>11</sup> Mann 1985, 10.
- <sup>12</sup> 'Philistines' refers here to the people living in early Iron Age Philistia. It is not meant to refer to any ethnic group.
- <sup>13</sup> For example Hillier et al. 1978.
- <sup>14</sup> Cherry 1987, 148; Sack 1986.
- <sup>15</sup> Lightfoot & Martinez 1995.
- <sup>16</sup> Hodder 1982.
- <sup>17</sup> Finkelstein 1998; Mazar 1990, 238; Na'aman 1997.
- <sup>18</sup> Finkelstein 1998.
- <sup>19</sup> Jasmin 2000.
- <sup>20</sup> Singer 1988.
- <sup>21</sup> Block-Smith & Alpert Nakhai 1999, 87.
- <sup>22</sup> Marcus 1998.
- <sup>23</sup> Bunimovitz 1994.
- <sup>24</sup> Cherry 1978, 429-430.
- <sup>25</sup> Bunimovitz 1994.
- <sup>26</sup> Jasmin 2000; Schniedewind 1998.
- <sup>27</sup> Dothan 1989b.
- <sup>28</sup> Finkelstein 1996.
- <sup>29</sup> The data for figure 3 has been derived from Finkelstein 1996; Jasmin 2000.
- <sup>30</sup> Berry 1961; Hodder & Orton 1976, 71; Small 1998, 285.
- <sup>31</sup> As do: Bunimovitz 1994; Drews 1993; Nur & Cline 2000.
- <sup>32</sup> Van der Leeuw 1981.
- <sup>33</sup> Stone 1999.
- <sup>34</sup> Cf. Stager 1995.
- <sup>35</sup> Stone 1999, 110-12.
- <sup>36</sup> Earle 1991.
- <sup>37</sup> Deutsch 1963; Haas 1982; Webster 1990.
- <sup>38</sup> Giddens 1984, 258-261.
- <sup>39</sup> Arnold 1996; Urban & Shortman 1999, 125.
- <sup>40</sup> Bunimovitz 1994.
- <sup>41</sup> Mann 1985, 7.
- <sup>42</sup> Dothan 1989b.
- <sup>43</sup> Dothan and Dothan 1992, 150-151.
- <sup>44</sup> Giddens 1995, 4.
- <sup>45</sup> Service and Fried 1971.
- <sup>46</sup> Dothan 1989b.
- <sup>47</sup> Dothan and Dothan 1992, 174-177.
- <sup>48</sup> Mazar 1980.
- <sup>49</sup> Demarraais et al. 1996.
- <sup>50</sup> Hesse 1986.
- <sup>51</sup> Dothan 1989a; Sherratt 1994, 60; 1998, 304.
- <sup>52</sup> Barako 2000.
- <sup>53</sup> Sherratt 1998.
- <sup>54</sup> D'Altroy & Earle 1985.
- <sup>55</sup> Kamp & Yoffee 1980.
- <sup>56</sup> It has been demonstrated that the economy in early Iron Age Philistia was characterised by a specialisation in cattle-raising. See Hesse 1986.
- <sup>57</sup> Finkelstein 1988.
- <sup>58</sup> Moscati 1988.

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# Evidence of the so-called Golden Section in Archaic South Italy: the Hera Temple I ('Basilica') at Paestum *With an addendum on the Parthenon at Athens*

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## INTRODUCTION

The Greeks knew it as the section of mean and extreme ratio. For Luca Pacioli, a theologian and mathematician, it was the divine proportion *par excellence*, implying that it is of a superhuman nature. Unfortunately, his book (*De Divina Proportione*, Venice 1509) also contains a treatise on architecture, which led many readers astray.<sup>1</sup> There is no proof, however, that Leonardo da Vinci, who made the drawings for Pacioli's book, ever used the expression *sectio aurea*. It is more recently (19<sup>th</sup> century), that this proportion has been better known as the golden section.

The golden section belonged exclusively to a world in which geometrical shapes and ratios were valued for their own sake. In the Middle Ages that meant architects and artists and the places to look for it are the dimensions of buildings or the frames of manuscript illuminations. They may choose to order their work with the help of the golden proportion, or may turn out to have done so unintentionally. In fact, critical inquiries never reveal mathematical precision.<sup>2</sup> Many authors hold that the golden section has been an aesthetic ideal since the days of Pythagoras. However, they failed to differentiate between mathematical romanticism and mathematical history. The idea is, indeed, attractive but must be corroborated by the analysis of some Greek temple plans which reveal the use of the golden section with *precision*, since the measurement predicted by a rule of 1 : 1.61803.. (the golden section) may well be very close to that predicted by a rule of 1 : 1.6 (= 5 : 8).<sup>3</sup> There is no evidence that the golden section was ever used by Greek architects. However, 'number mysticism' was practised occasionally in designing the dimensions of rectangles ('Basilica' at Paestum and Parthenon at Athens): the difference in length of two sides of a rectangle measures a round number of a specific foot length, the Ionic foot of 29.86 cm.

This paper deals with the progression of Pythagoras<sup>4</sup> laid down on the steps of an archaic temple, thus widening our knowledge of mathematical history. The ratio of two successive high numbers of this series is an accurate approximation for the golden section. However, there is no evidence that the architect based his design on this ratio to deal with the aesthetic form of the temple. Although this is therefore not the place to attempt a full reconstruction of the temple design, it is important to make some comment on the subject. The mathematical part of this study will be kept superficial as many implications are best left to specialists in mathematics.



Fig. 1. Map of southern Italy about 530 BC.

The golden section is described by Euclid (ca. 300 BC), but it is well known that much of his work is of Pythagorean origin. Pythagoras (born on Samos ca. 580) founded a philosophic school at Kroton in south Italy (*fig. 1*) in the second half of the sixth century. After being expelled from Kroton in 510, he settled down at Metapontion, where he died ca. 500. But here we are already in the realm of myths and legends. According to another legend Pythagoras and many of his followers died after the destruction of Sybaris by Kroton in 510, when the house of his patron Milo and the adjacent school was burnt by discontented Krotonians instigated by Cylon, a rejected candidate of the school. The oldest temple of Hera was built at Poseidonia (Paestum) in about the same period (ca. 530). If this date is correct, we may conclude that the Pythagorean brotherhood already expanded before the events at Kroton in 510.

#### THE GOLDEN SECTION

The golden section divides a line (*fig. 2*) in such a way that A (minor) is to B (major) as B is to A + B. In a formula:  $B^2 = A(A + B)$ . The terms A, B and A + B form part of an additive geometrical progression. The characteristic of this progression is the constant quotient of two successive terms. The ratio of the terms belonging to the golden section (0.61803.. or 1.61803..) is irrational, that is not expressible by whole numbers or vulgar fractions.

A	B
Minor	Major
0.61803..	1
1	1.61803..

*Fig. 2. The golden section.*

#### FIBONACCI (1180-1240) AND PYTHAGORAS

The golden section and the progression of Fibonacci (1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, etc.) are closely related. Successive high numbers of Fibonacci give results which hardly differ from the true golden section quotient, the further one goes, the more accurate it becomes, e.g., 233 divided by 377 = 0.61803... The progression of Fibonacci becomes a progression of Pythagoras by omitting one number one (1, 3, 4, 7, 11, 18, ....., 521, 843, 1364,

etc.) or, for practical building purposes in the archaic period, in Ionic feet (IF) of 29.86 cm:  $1/8'$ ,  $3/8'$ ,  $1/2'$ ,  $7/8'$ ,  $1\ 3/8'$ ,  $2\ 1/4'$ , .....,  $65\ 1/8'$ ,  $105\ 3/8'$ ,  $170\ 1/2'$ , etc.

I arrive at values in Ionic feet by dividing Pythagorean numbers by eight. This is not an odd method to introduce a new foot but a legitimate procedure to present fresh evidence for a standard measure of length whose existence I defend since 1994. Just as in the Fibonacci series, the quotient of two successive high numbers approximates 0.61803.

#### THE GOLDEN SECTION IN PRACTICE

Modern mathematicians who are satisfied with the algebraic approach of the terms, feel no need to construct the golden section. In practice, the geometric construction is difficult to draw accurately. For example, a golden rectangle with two unequal sides equal to 100 mm has sides of 38.196.. and 61.803.. mm. Using simple tools, as ruler and compasses, one is restricted to 38.2 and 61.8 mm giving a ratio of 0.61812.. instead of 0.61803... If an architect would use the golden proportion for aesthetic reasons he surely preferred high numbers of Fibonacci, which seems to have been done in the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup> Le Corbusier,<sup>6</sup> whose starting-point for architecture on basis of the golden section was the height of an average European man of 183 cm (originally 175 cm), had to invent his own progression (5, 11, 16, 27, 43, 70, 113, 183, etc.) as the Fibonacci numbers 144 or 233 do not fulfil such requirements. Le Corbusier's progression is as to that less accurate than the Fibonacci progression, but he was satisfied with it. Clearly, it is only the aesthetic aspect that matters and of course, the design must fit in with the standard of length (metres and centimetres, cubit or foot and current fractions), i.e., in Greece, corresponding to the normal division of a foot into 16 dactyls.<sup>7</sup> If restricted to golden rectangles, Greek architects might have used the progression of Pythagoras instead of another system of proportioning. The aesthetic aspect of such real or imaginary rectangles must please beholders from close by, e.g. the proportioning of the cella of the Parthenon (below) or from afar, e.g. the colonnade of the Parthenon (below) for which an entirely different system of proportioning was used.

Let us now return to the Pythagoreans. As the Pythagoreans were theorists in the first place, they almost certainly knew the progression of the golden section. Here we meet a problem that still exists, that is, a theorem is a position requiring

demonstration. How to demonstrate its validity by geometry as accurate as possible with the available means and restricted by the local foot standard and its current fractions? A practical solution to this problem is the use of high numbers of a progression which tally with the subdivisions of that standard of length. Thus, if we can show that, about 530 BC, successive high numbers of the above series materialize, then we have demonstrated that the mathematicians of that time knew the true progression of the golden section.

#### THE OLDEST TEMPLE OF HERA (SO-CALLED BASILICA) AT PAESTUM

The measurement of the temple of Hera has been executed by Dieter Mertens and his team. The results are stated in centimetres with accuracy to the mm. The work meets in every respect modern standards of graphic and metrical registration. Here we find no mean values of elements supposed to be identical. Every single stone has been measured, thus giving the opportunity for a profound study of the temple.<sup>8</sup>

The first impression left by Greek architecture is of extreme accuracy, but the steps of the temple of Hera on the north flank are about 5 centimetres longer than on the south flank, that is too much to be accounted for simply by inaccuracy of measurement. Indeed, the process of discovering the architectural design behind the remains of archaic temples is notoriously difficult. Vitruvius (IV 1. 3) talks of an earlier stage before the adoption of rules of proportion. Unless such a proportion is a simple arithmetical ratio, the rule cannot be discovered without knowledge of the foot size. Of course, if there are no proportional rules at all, the problems are almost too difficult to overcome if the modern investigator must resort to a discussion of the design based on the dimensions in centimetres. Thus, we have need of fixed foot standards which are certain to have existed. I will discuss these matters more fully in the addendum.

The middle step of the temple of Hera is of interest for several reasons. The initial results of our inquiry can be presented in centimetres, thus without presupposing the length of the foot used. At the end of this section the foot size presents itself by force of logic and a further proof is given below. Then, surprisingly, we find traces of mathematical knowledge embedded in the middle step of the 'Basilica' (530 BC?) at the time that Pythagoras is supposed to be at Kroton, i.e., about 250 km from Paestum. In the course of an inquiry into the design of this temple I discovered by chance that the middle step on both flanks of the temple platform revealed measurements which are of no use for the construction of the temple, but can easily be explained as to put on record the golden section on a very large scale. Beginning at the west end of both steps, the sum of a row of block measurements indicate that the Pythagoreans had something to do with this temple during its erection. This is not to say that the Pythagoreans were involved in the design process. The mathematical theories of philosophers perhaps may induce an idea as a starting-point for a design, but ancient Greek architectural design procedures had nothing to do with higher mathematics. Nevertheless, the possibility that the Pythagoreans have made an unsuccessful attempt at designing a temple must be kept in mind. The main point in favour of this hypothesis is the opinion of an experienced modern observer on the aesthetic aspect of the colonnade (*fig. 3*), which surrounds the temple.<sup>9</sup> Anyhow, there was an agreement to construct the middle step in such a way that mathematicians could materialize their ideas on a geometric progression. The crucial measurements<sup>10</sup> of the middle step have been summarized in table 1.<sup>11</sup>

The results are satisfying, in spite of the ruinous state of the temple: north-side  $1943.5 : 3144.5 = 0.61806..$ ,  $3144.5 : 5088.0 = 0.61802..$ ; south-side  $1943.5 : 3145.4 = 0.61788..$ ,  $3145.4 : 5088.9 = 0.61809..$

Table 1. The middle step of the flanks.

	Blocks	cm	Blocks	cm	Blocks	cm
North-side	W1 u/i 7	1943.5	W8 u/i 18	3144.5	W1 u/i 18	5088.0
South-side	W1 u/i 7	1943.5	W8 u/i 17	3145.4	W1 u/i 17	5088.9
If perfect		1944.6		3146.5		5091.1
In feet (IF)		65 1/8		105 3/8		170 1/2



Fig. 3. The oldest temple of Hera at Paestum from north-east.

Obviously, the Pythagoreans used a progression - since 1877 usually called the progression of Lucas - as a practical means of constructing the golden section. Here minor is  $65 \frac{1}{8}'$ , major  $105 \frac{3}{8}'$  and the line  $170 \frac{1}{2}$  Ionic feet of 29.86 cm. In numbers: 521, 843 and 1364. Everything is number, Pythagoras seems to have said. The explanation of the actual dimensions in numbers of the progression will only work for a specific value of the foot.

#### PEG-AND-CORD CONSTRUCTIONS

Van der Waerden<sup>12</sup> says: 'Die Pythagoreer haben selbstverständlich auch Konstruktionen ausgeführt. ... Im zweiten Buch (Euclid's *Elements*) ist immerfort von dem "von zwei Strecken aufgespannten Rechteck" die Rede ...'

Seidenberg<sup>13</sup> says: '... we have tried to show that a number of points in Greek geometry are illuminated by the hypothesis that it started from a tradition of peg-and-cord constructions ...'

I refer the reader to Mertens' ground-plan.<sup>14</sup> Instead of pegs and cords, pins and sewing-thread can be used or, avoiding damage on the published drawing, tracing-paper, ruler and pencil. Connect the Pythagorean points on both flanks (hypotenuse) at the 7<sup>th</sup> column from west (perpendicular). Connect zero and the point at the 17<sup>th</sup> column of the south flank to the end of the perpendicular on the north flank. At first sight you have constructed a huge triangle with a vertical angle of 90 degrees (fig. 4). In fact, this angle is about 89 degrees. Thus the perpendicular of 2520.5 cm is too long if we take the ends of the perpendicular at the edges of the second step.<sup>15</sup> The true Pythagorean measuring points must be situated more inwards, that is, if symmetrically placed, about 23.4 cm inwards (the step width is about 36 cm) on both flanks as the exact length of the perpendicular has to be  $82 \frac{27}{32}$  IF = 2473.7 cm. Then the length of the short side of the right-angled triangle is  $105 \frac{3}{8}$  IF = 3146.5 cm, thus as long as the 'major' of the hypotenuse.



## AGAIN THE MIDDLE STEP

Only on the south-side we find evidence for no fewer than four nearest lower terms of the progression by splitting up both groups of blocks already mentioned in table 1. Two terms appear twice (table 2), which seems superfluous for simple exposure of the progression. Perhaps, more 'golden' figures have been constructed. On this subject specialists in mathematics may decide what can be done with the available data.

For the present it seems more likely that architect and mathematicians acted together, rather than seeing a philosophic-mathematic community as the architects of the temple of Hera. An architect was presumably more interested in architecture than in pure mathematics. Perhaps more evidence for Pythagorean activity can still be found on the steps of archaic temples in Paestum or Metapontion.

## THE IONIC FOOT

Since 1994 I present evidence for the Ionic foot (IF) of practically 29.86 cm.<sup>16</sup> For various reasons most scholars are reluctant to accept the widespread use of this foot standard. Till now, only its local existence has been admitted.<sup>17</sup> In my opinion, this standard was almost universally used in designing Greek architecture of the sixth and fifth century. For only a few temples, the temple of Athena in Paestum, the Erechtheion and the Hephaisteion<sup>18</sup> at Athens for example, the Attic foot of practically 32.66 cm has been attested. Although it is not yet possible to present a full reconstruction of the design of the Hera temple, it is imperative to prove that the architect indeed used a measure of 29.86 cm as his standard of length. Fortunately, this is an easy task. Let us look at the dimensions of the

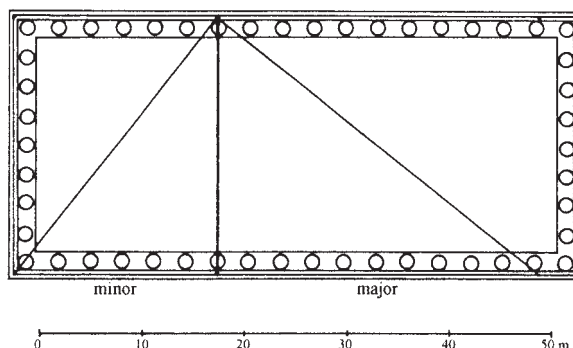


Fig. 4. General view of the oldest temple of Hera at Paestum. For details see Mertens 1993: ground-plan 1:100.

altar.<sup>19</sup> With a length of 2100 cm and a width of 607 cm, the dimensions are in the ratio 13 : 45. This ratio was, I suppose, unknown to the architect as his intention was quite differently, namely width = length minus 50 feet. This equation gives again the length of the foot standard: (2100 - 607) divided by 50 = 29.86 cm, precisely.

## THE ALTAR AND 'NUMBER MYSTICISM'

By presenting the above data as evidence for the foot used, we have missed the clue to 'number mysticism'. A different arrangement of the facts will clear this matter up, at once indicating which elements were significant in the design of the altar. The altar has been erected at considerable distance to the east front with its short axis in line with the temple axis. More or less paraphrasing Vitruvius in his presentation of the rules for Ionic (*De Arch.* III 5. 5 and 5. 8), that is by relating each element to the one defined previously, we get: Altar, application of rules for finding its length

Table 2. The middle step: south-side.

Blocks	measured cm	If perfect cm	IF	Number of Pyth.
W 1	282.0	283.7	9 1/2	76
W 2 + 3	462.2	459.1	15 3/8	123
W 1 u/i 3	744.2	742.7	24 7/8	199
W 4 u/i 7	1199.3	1201.9	40 1/4	322
W 1 u/i 7	1943.5	1944.6	65 1/8	521
W 8 u/i 13	1943.6	1944.6	65 1/8	521
W 14 u/i 17	1201.8	1201.9	40 1/4	322
W 8 u/i 17	3145.4	3146.5	105 3/8	843
W 1 u/i 17	5088.9	5091.1	170 1/2	1364

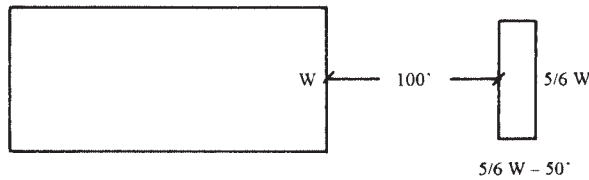


Fig. 5. Hera temple I at Paestum: middle step and altar. The way in which the dimensions of the altar were calculated; W is the width of the middle step.

and for relating the length to the width. Which rectangle is of primary importance to the design? (middle step of the temple). The middle step (fig. 5) having been laid out, the rule for the altar length will be as follows: divide the shorter side of the middle step into six parts. Five parts shall be the length of the altar. Henceforth number mysticism comes into play! What is the holy<sup>20</sup> measure (distance between middle step and altar) and what is its length? (100 feet). The rule for the altar width will be as follows: subtract half a holy measure from the altar length.

Middle step on east front: measured 2518.4 cm; 2519.4 cm =  $84 \frac{3}{8}$  IF  $\times \frac{5}{6}$  =  $70 \frac{5}{16}$  IF = 2099.5 cm (length of the altar); total distance:  $2952 + 37.5$  = 2989.5 cm on north-side of the altar and  $2950 + 37.7$  = 2987.7 cm on south-side; 100 IF = 2986.0 cm;  $70 \frac{5}{16}$  IF - 50 IF =  $20 \frac{5}{16}$  IF = 606.5 cm (width of the altar).<sup>21</sup>

This way of calculating the proportion of length to width is very practical as there are no difficulties in handling fractions. Of course, the difficulties shift to modern investigators who try to analyse Greek architecture without knowing the architect's standard of length.

#### ADDENDUM: THE PARTHENON AT ATHENS

Again, I defend the position that Kallikrates, the architect of the Parthenon,<sup>22</sup> used the Ionic foot (IF) of 29.86 cm. In the addendum to my paper of 1994 I have dealt with the colonnade of the Parthenon.<sup>23</sup> I repeat this here in part (table 3; fig. 6), notably the proportions of the stylobate rectangle (A, B) and the imaginary rectangle stylobate width to height of Doric order (B, E) to show in what way the proportional system differs from that of the cella, which is the subject of the present addendum.

We find simple proportions. A:B = 9:4 and B:E = 9:4 or A:B:E =  $2 \frac{1}{4} \times 2 \frac{1}{4} : 2 \frac{1}{4} : 1$ . But architects did not work only in simple arithmetic ratios. The relationship linking length to width can be expressed in various ways.

The temple of Hera at Paestum and the Parthenon have two things in common: the foot size and a proportional system that is based on numbers. Some Greek philosophers, notably the Pythagoreans, attributed an almost mystical significance to certain numbers. However, I do not know whether philosophers really had any influence upon the way in which temples were planned. Therefore, I hope for acceptance of the following notions. A 'holy number' is a round number of feet that pleases the architect or his principals and 'number mysticism' could be the explanation for a round number of feet that is related to the holy number. Here the latter round number of feet is the difference between length and width of various rectangles, both real and imaginary ones. By means of this procedure the architects set out the dimensions in order to obtain the aesthetic form of the cella.

The measurements of the cella have been published by Mertens.<sup>24</sup> The length of the east room - the largest room in the cella and called *hekatompedos naos* by Hesychios - clearly refers to a holy measure of 100 feet; measured 2987.1 cm; 2986.0 cm = 100 IF. Four rectangles have been designed by means of number mysticism (table 4; fig. 6): the stylobate rectangle (A, B), the imaginary rectangle between the axes of outer columns (C, D) and the vertical imaginary rectangles axial width to height of Doric order (D, E) and axial length to height of Doric order (C, E).

A - B and C - D = 125 IF, D - E = 25 IF and C - E = 150 IF. This design of the cella is easy to find

Table 3. Colonnade.

	measured cm	If perfect cm	IF
A	6953.9	6953.6	232 $\frac{7}{8}$
B	3089.2	3090.5	103 $\frac{1}{2}$
E	1371.8	1373.6	46

Table 4. Cella.

	measured cm	If perfect cm	IF
A	5904.8	5904.8	197 $\frac{3}{4}$
B	2171.5	2172.3	72 $\frac{3}{4}$
C	5723.6	5723.8	191 $\frac{11}{16}$
D	1991.4	1991.3	66 $\frac{11}{16}$
E	1245.1	1244.8	41 $\frac{11}{16}$

and the plan is very accurately executed. But generations of students did not find it.<sup>25</sup> Why not? Firstly, this method of proportioning was hitherto unnoticed as it cannot be detected by the modern investigator without knowing the foot used. Perhaps, scholars are unwilling to investigate other possibilities as the normal procedure - that is the division width by length or vice versa - is sometimes successful, e.g. on the colonnade stylobate of the Parthenon, also of course, with the wrong foot standard<sup>26</sup> or the measurements in centimetres. But the infrequency of simple arithmetic ratios in Greek temples is striking. It seems reasonable to conclude that the nature of a proportional system in many cases cannot be discovered unless the length of the foot is known. Secondly, where to find the measuring points of Hesychios' *hekatompedos* was a matter of debate, thus by suggesting another place for these points, the investigator will obtain another length of the foot. Of course, only the true standard can be demonstrated *everywhere* in the Parthenon. Therefore, I shall remain silent about suggestions that the architects of the Parthenon should have used two foot standards. Thirdly, Hesychios' remark upon the length of the naos was sometimes simply neglected, allowing full play to a man's imagination. Fourthly, a dogmatic point of view: the Athenian authorities should accept only the Attic foot as building measure.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, compared with the situation in our times no one would deny the possibility of such strict regulations in ancient Athens, however, such an assumption needs to be proved, not just accepted.

The Attic foot (AF) was used at Athens by the architects of the Erechtheion and the Hephaisteion. A foot size of 32.66 cm is certainly the *Attic* foot because it is at the basis of the Athenian system of measures of mass and capacity.<sup>28</sup> But the Ionic foot of 29.86 cm was adhered to over large areas of the Greek world (Ionia, *Attica*,<sup>29</sup> Aigina, south Italy and Sicily) through about seven centuries (temple of Hera on Samos 530 BC, temple of Zeus

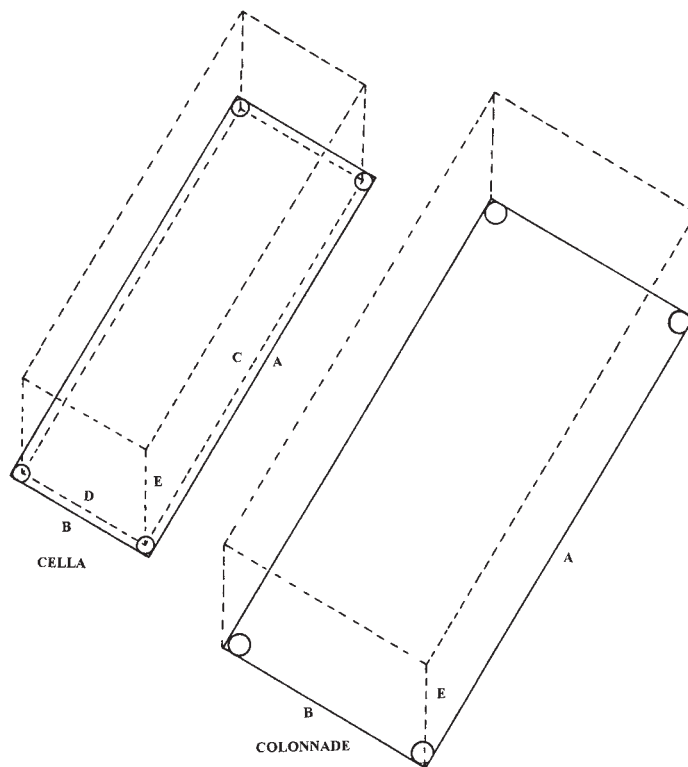


Fig. 6. Parthenon at Athens. Proportional system of the colonnade and the cella.

at Aizanoi in Phrygia 125 AD). Manolis Korres,<sup>30</sup> who is in charge of the restoration of the Parthenon, says that a foot size of 29.37 cm performs much better at the small dimensions (0.8, 1.75, 3.6, 5.6 and 11.0-11.1 cm or  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1, 2, 3 and 6 daktyls) than a foot size of 32.7 cm. But in 1994 most scholars still held that there were only two basic standards in architectural use, thus it is not surprising that Korres agreed with the traditional view and did not test other values. A foot of 29.86 cm was not among the values proposed by earlier investigators of the Parthenon. Fortunately, the arithmetic ratio of length to width occasionally may give the clue to the foot used. Then it is only a matter of correct interpretation of the facts. Therefore, let us return to the cella and the dimensions as measured (*table 5*).

Table 5. Cella: in search of the Parthenon foot.			
Proportions in cm	Ratio	Numerical ratio	
		wrong	right
A:B = 5904.8 : 2171.5	2.719.. : 1	87 : 32	791 : 291
C:D = 5723.6 : 1991.4	2.874.. : 1	23 : 8	3067 : 1067
D:E = 1991.4 : 1245.1	1.599.. : 1	8 : 5	1067 : 667
C:E = 5723.6 : 1245.1	4.596.. : 1	23 : 5	3067 : 667

The lowest estimation of the foot is  $2171.5 : 291 = 7.4621.. \times 4 = 29.848.. \text{ cm}$  and the highest estimation  $1245.1 : 667 = 1.8667.. \times 16 = 29.867.. \text{ cm}$ .

We may infer from table 5 that the foot of 29.86 cm is fallacious or that the simpler numerical ratios, which are equally accurate, have to be rejected. Thus, we must find some accurately known data to be sure that the proposed standard does not conflict with the facts. It is a great pity that the measurements in the main works on the Parthenon (Penrose, Balanos and Orlandos) do not agree on essential points.<sup>31</sup> Fortunately, Korres informed Berger orally of three connected measures in the cella which were a matter in dispute previously:<sup>32</sup> the column height in the pronaos and in the opisthodomos (1008 cm = A), the lower column diameters in the opisthodomos (171.6 cm = B) and in the pronaos (164.5 cm = C). It may be worth looking at the effect of doing the calculations in feet of 29.86 cm and in the rival feet of 29.37 an 32.7 cm to show clearly which foot size performs best. Of course, accuracy is important, but it is the simplicity of dimensions when expressed in feet which matters in the last resort (*table 6*).

We can, with some confidence, take the foot used in the Parthenon as 29.86 cm. Where does this foot come from? Briefly:<sup>33</sup> the Egyptians used a cubit of 52.25472 cm, which was divided into 28 digits. Herodotus (II 168) tells us that the Egyptian and the Samian cubits are equal. Since Greek architects seem to have worked in feet (of 16 digits) rather than cubits, the Samians - the famous local architect Rhoikos and Pythagoras for instance - preferred the foot of  $16/28 \times 52.25472 \text{ cm} = 29.85984 \text{ cm}$  or practically 29.86 cm. The evidence for the metric value of the Ionic foot is overwhelming at Didyma in Ionia.

Comparative metrology is an instrument of finding relationships. Here the theoretical value of the standard will come in very useful. However, the results of the comparative method must be used with caution. Romanticists run the risk of

inferring too much, e.g. that Egyptians ever visited England on the evidence that two Anglo-Saxon feet equal one Egyptian cubit. But identity of measures does not necessarily imply direct derivation. Comparative metrology is based on the theory of unbroken continuity. If a new measure was needed, the appropriate course of action would have been to adapt what was already at hand, not make a fresh start.

The following chain of figures may be useful for an attempt to connect data concerning measures of length which are certain to have existed locally, e.g. the Drusian foot, to the appropriate figure:  $29.85984 \text{ (Ionic foot)} \times 35/32 = 32.6592 \text{ (Attic foot)} \times 9/10 = 29.39328 \text{ (Roman foot)} \times 8/9 = 26.12736 \text{ (Anglo-Saxon foot)}^{34} \times 7/6 = 30.48192 \text{ cm (English foot)}$ . The legal value of the English foot is 30.48 cm, thus the figures approximate reality. But let us return to Attica by saying that the Attic foot is a derivative of the Ionic foot, as its length is exactly  $1 \frac{1}{2}$  *Ionic* dactyls longer than the Ionic foot.

The Ionic standard also nicely fits in with the remains of the Older Parthenon (after 510, or 490, or 479 BC),<sup>35</sup> e.g., the dimensions of the stylobate of the colonnade, as given by Hill,<sup>36</sup> are  $2351.0 \times 6688.8 \text{ cm}$ , if perfect  $2351.5 \times 6688.6 \text{ cm} = 78 \frac{3}{4} \times 224 \text{ Ionic feet}$ . The ratio of width to length is 45:128. It so happens that 45 and 128 represent the dimensions in Egyptian cubits.

The date of introduction of the Attic foot is difficult to ascertain. To sum up: the building measure of the Hephaisteion (ca. 450 BC) and the Erechtheion (after 438 or 421 BC) was the Attic foot. The Ionic foot was used for the Older Parthenon, the present Periklean Parthenon (447/6 BC) and almost certainly for the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (436/2 BC). In my opinion, the Athenian authorities did not abolish the common Ionic foot after the introduction of their own longer Attic foot.

Table 6. Cella porches: column height and lower diameters						
	1' = 29.37 cm		1' = 29.86 cm		1' = 32.7 cm	
	F	cm	F	cm	F	cm
A	34 5/16	1007.8	33 3/4	1007.8	30 13/16	1007.6
B	5 27/32	171.6	5 3/4	171.7	5 1/4	171.7
C	5 19/32	164.3	5 1/2	164.2	5 1/32	164.5



# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was the late Prof. J. de Waele who introduced the idea (1995, 513-518) of seeking for metrological significance into rows of stone blocks to provide insight into the way a temple was built. I am most grateful to Dr. M.D. de Weerd (Alkmaar) for reading a preliminary draft of this paper. He has at many points improved its clarity, but is not, of course, responsible for any errors it may contain. Dr.-Ing. D. Mertens kindly supplied a photo of the oldest temple of Hera.

# NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Van der Schoot 1999, 406.
- <sup>2</sup> Naredi-Rainer 1982, 196-197.
- <sup>3</sup> The distinction has been made because 5 and 8 - low numbers in the Fibonacci series (cf. infra) - give a poor approximation for the golden section.
- <sup>4</sup> See Wells 1986, s.n. 11. Since 1877, this series of integral numbers is usually attributed to É. Lucas (1842-1891). Progressions of Pythagoras/Lucas and Fibonacci: a series of numbers, each of which is the sum of its two predecessors and any two of which will produce an approximation for the golden section.
- <sup>5</sup> Naredi-Rainer 1982, 188.
- <sup>6</sup> Naredi-Rainer 1982, 101-103.
- <sup>7</sup> Haselberger 1983, 118 : e.g.,  $6 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$ , the specification of the intended diameter on a drum of an unfluted column of the temple of Apollo at Didyma (c. 250 BC).
- <sup>8</sup> Mertens 1993. Some errors arose from the process of converting field drawings into final drawings, but the author kindly answered my questions which are relevant for an inquiry into the design but not for the present subject.
- <sup>9</sup> Gruben 1976, 244: '... von wo aus immer man den Bau anschaut, man ihn nicht als einheitlichen Körper empfindet, daß stets die verwirrende Vielzahl seiner Säulen ins Bewußtsein dringt oder aber das Auge an der starken Erscheinung der einzelnen Säule haften bleibt.'
- <sup>10</sup> Mertens 1993, annex 2 (ground-plan). North-side:  $101.5 + 340.0 + 322.5 + 299.5 + 249.5 + 312.0 + 318.5 = 1943.5$  cm; south-side:  $282.0 + 232.0 + 230.2 + 289.3 + 240.5 + 303.0 + 366.5 = 1943.5$  cm; north-side:  $220.5 + 376.5 + 254.0 + 314.0 + 280.0 + 302.0 + 304.4 + 333.1 + 328.0 + 258.0 + 174.0 = 3144.5$  cm; south-side:  $324.0 + 394.0 + 313.2 + 287.8 + 305.0 + 319.6 + 385.8 + 309.2 + 240.0 + 266.8 = 3145.4$  cm.
- <sup>11</sup> The abbreviation u/i means up to and including.
- <sup>12</sup> Van der Waerden 1978, 356.
- <sup>13</sup> Seidenberg 1962, 497.
- <sup>14</sup> Mertens 1993, 82. The platform (= steps 1, 2 and 3) is not an exact rectangle. East-north: an exact right angle, east-south: 'fast ebenso genau'; length of middle step (north) 5500.4 and 5495.0 cm (south). If the worst comes to the worst zero on north flank have to be situated 5.4 cm west of a perpendicular erected in zero on south flank. As the evidence for Pythagorean activity goes from west to east, I cannot accept Mertens' supposition that the erection of the steps started from the east front.

- <sup>15</sup> Mertens 1993, 12: '2. Stufe (in Joch 4vW) 25.20,5', that is, between columns 4 and 5 from west, the nearest position with regard to the perpendicular, where this distance has been measured.
- <sup>16</sup> De Zwarte 1994: Temple of Apollo, Didyma; metrological relief in Oxford; temple of Hera, Samos; temple of Zeus, Aizanoi; temple of Nemesis, Rhamnous; temple at Segesta, Sicily; Parthenon, Athens. De Zwarte 1994-95: temple of Aphaia, Aegina.
- <sup>17</sup> Haselberger 1996, 165-168 and note 56 (temple of Apollo, Didyma; mausoleum, Halicarnassos; temple of Athena Alea, Tegea).
- <sup>18</sup> De Zwarte 1996.
- <sup>19</sup> Mertens 1993, 3, fig. 2.
- <sup>20</sup> On 'holy' measures and numbers: Gruben 1976, 249 and 252; Naredi-Rainer 1982, 156-157.
- <sup>21</sup> Mertens 1993, 1 (distance altar to first step) and annex 2 (width of first step on east front) = total distance; annex 2: length of middle step on east front).
- <sup>22</sup> Wesenberg 1982.
- <sup>23</sup> Dimensions in centimetres: Bankel 1983, 87 (after Penrose in English feet).
- <sup>24</sup> Mertens 1984, 66-67 (presumably after Korres).
- <sup>25</sup> Bankel 1983, 82-83: A list of previous investigators including the proposed foot or module.
- <sup>26</sup> Wesenberg 1984, 547.
- <sup>27</sup> Wesenberg 1995, 217.
- <sup>28</sup> De Zwarte 1994, 127-128.
- <sup>29</sup> De Zwarte 1994, 133: The temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous. In my opinion the Ionic foot was used, but I have left the question open for discussion. Those who are interested may judge the argument.
- <sup>30</sup> Korres 1994, 63.
- <sup>31</sup> Mertens 1984, 58.
- <sup>32</sup> Berger 1984, 377, notes 7 and 8.
- <sup>33</sup> In detail: De Zwarte 1994.
- <sup>34</sup> The source for the Anglo-Saxon foot is a passage in the Old English Orosius in which Roman and early English measures of length are linked up. Philip Grierson (1972, 29) did not interpret the passage rightly, so he was not able to produce the required  $70 \frac{1}{7}$  miles in a clear calculation.
- <sup>35</sup> Wesenberg 1982, 124.
- <sup>36</sup> Hill 1912, 544; the recalculation by Dinsmoor ( $2353.3 \times 6694.0$ ) has to be dismissed. Boersma (1970, 176) gives an excellent synopsis of the facts and the prevailing opinions.

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# Greek votive plaques: manufacture, display, disposal

Gina Salapata

Votive plaques are usually studied more for their individual depictions than for their types of manufacture or use. Moreover, since most of them are common and inexpensive offerings of little artistic value, plaques have not been examined systematically as a type of dedication with its own technical specifications and particular function. Still, the study of votive plaques can provide valuable information about the operation of workshops and the cult practices of ordinary people.

Admittedly, in the area of mainland Greece, until recently, few plaques had been found in sufficiently large numbers to encourage their examination as a group.<sup>1</sup> In contrast, plaques from Magna Graecia, after the discovery in Lokroi of the richest assemblage to date in the whole Greek world, have always attracted the attention of scholars and have been the focus of several studies, though still primarily iconographic. The definitive publication, however, of the Lokrian plaques is still in preparation.<sup>2</sup> This article, therefore, is intended to fill the gap in the literature by examining votive plaques in Greece with regard to their nomenclature, material, and decoration technique, while focusing on their life stages, from manufacture and dedication to display and disposal.<sup>3</sup> The iconography of the plaques, which varies widely, will not be treated here. In addition, more attention will be paid to terracotta plaques, rather than those in other media, not because the terracotta ones were the most common, which might well have been the case, but because they are the ones most commonly surviving in the archaeological record. Much new information is obtained from recent discoveries of large assemblages of terracotta relief plaques in Lakonia and Messenia,<sup>4</sup> which indicate an extensive local production. Indeed, although plaques are found in different geographical areas of the Greek world, they seem to be a particularly popular type of offering in the southern Peloponnese.

## DEFINITION

In Greek there were two words that eventually came to refer variously to panels, trays, plates,

and plaques: *pinax* and *pinakion*. *Pinax* originally meant something flat,<sup>5</sup> and in particular a tablet for writing.<sup>6</sup> As it evolved, the word took on the additional meaning of reliefs or paintings on various materials usually dedicated in sanctuaries.<sup>7</sup> *Pinakion* initially referred only to tablets or trays and on inscriptions of the Classical period to notice boards.<sup>8</sup> In neither word is there an inherent indication of material or decoration technique.<sup>9</sup>

In archaeological contexts, the word 'plaque' is generally used to describe relatively small rectangular flat objects of different materials, either displayed independently or employed as subordinate decoration. Thus some terracotta plaques were used to embellish furniture, as an inexpensive substitute for ivory and gold inlays,<sup>10</sup> while others adorned the outer walls of mud-brick built graves.<sup>11</sup> Because of their findspot, as will be seen below, their intrinsic nature, decoration, and occasional inscriptions, the vast majority of independently used plaques seem to have been votive, although it is also likely that a few may have been in private possession for their value as art objects.<sup>12</sup>

The size of votive plaques varies greatly even within the same group,<sup>13</sup> from miniatures of a few centimetres in height<sup>14</sup> to substantial panels of more than 0.30 m. In shape they are commonly square or rectangular with the emphasis often on the horizontal orientation. In some cases, the upper edge of the plaque is curved,<sup>15</sup> or follows the contour of the figure (*fig. 1*).<sup>16</sup> Occasionally, the plaque may take the form of an architectural façade with pediment, sometimes held up by two columns.<sup>17</sup>

## MATERIALS AND MANUFACTURING TECHNIQUES

Votive plaques can be divided into four categories according to the material of which they were made: stone, metal, wood, and terracotta. The last two categories include plaques with either solely painted decoration or painted relief decoration.

The use of stone for votive plaques was very limited. This material was mostly reserved for large votive reliefs, which were expensive and usually elaborate offerings. An exceptional series



Fig. 1. Terracotta plaque from Sparta with the edge following the contour of the figure (Sparta Museum no. X9).

of small limestone plaques found in the Spartan sanctuary of Orthia is decorated with rudimentary and sometimes unfinished reliefs, bearing dedicatory inscriptions. They might have been carved by the stone workers engaged in the construction of the Archaic temple and dedicated there on some occasion. Some of these plaques have holes for attachment to a surface, presumably a wall (see below pp. 27-28).<sup>18</sup>

More common were metal votive plaques, mainly bronze but also silver and gold.<sup>19</sup> They were certainly more numerous than the extant pieces indicate, but because of their valuable material they were often melted down.<sup>20</sup> They carry relief decoration that was either hammered over a matrix, primarily from the back,<sup>21</sup> or made in repoussé, a technique involving freehand work with the piece worked equally from front and back.<sup>22</sup>

Metal plaques are of two kinds, rectangular and with trimmed-away background. Several rectangular plaques dating from the fourth century BC have been found in a sanctuary of Demeter at Mesembria in Thrace. They are of bronze, silver, or silver-plated bronze, and gold or gold-plated silver.<sup>23</sup> A large number of bronze plaques with cut-away background and a few rectangular ones in which the background has been preserved have been discovered at the Cretan sanctuary of Kato Symi; they are dated to the seventh and sixth centuries BC.<sup>24</sup> Lembessi has shown the direct relation of both types in size, style, and technique, and has pointed out that most of the 'cut-out' reliefs preserve as ground line a narrow horizontal strip, part of the original bronze rectangular sheet from which they were cut.<sup>25</sup> She has argued persuasively that, because they do not form homogeneous, contemporary groups, as would have been necessary if they had decorated, for example, wooden chests, both types had the same function as independently used offerings; thus it seems very likely that the 'cut-out' technique was developed only for aesthetic reasons.<sup>26</sup>

Wooden and especially terracotta votive plaques with solely painted decoration are much more widespread.<sup>27</sup> Although the frequent disintegration of wood in Greece deprives us of many such examples, wood must have been one of the most common and inexpensive materials for votive plaques.<sup>28</sup> It could be found more easily than terracotta, which had to be manufactured for that particular purpose.<sup>29</sup> Still, clay too was a relatively easily found substance, and terracotta plaques remained favorite offerings of the common people for centuries.

There are some ancient references to painted plaques. The earliest is contained in Herodotos' report (4. 88) on the Samian engineer Mandrokles, who manufactured the Bosphorus bridge for Dareios. Mandrokles dedicated at the Samian Heraion an inscribed plaque painted with a scene related to his construction. It is assumed that this was a painted wooden plaque made soon after 515 BC.<sup>30</sup> Aeneas Tacticus, a fourth-century BC authority on siegecraft, refers to a painted *pinakion heroikon* as a votive commonly dedicated at sanctuaries. His suggestion for a way to pass information into a besieged city involved writing the message on a *pinakion heroikon*, painting a *hippea phosphoron* on top of it, and finally dedicating it at any sanctuary in the city; in order for anyone to read the message the plaque had to be placed in oil.<sup>31</sup> Finally, Cicero, narrating an anecdote about Diagoras of Melos visiting Samothrace,



mentions that the sanctuary of the Great Gods was full of painted plaques dedicated by survivors of shipwrecks.<sup>32</sup> A problem arising from these literary references and some epigraphical sources<sup>33</sup> concerns the material of which these plaques were made; was it wood or terracotta? Boardman assumed that all literary and representational sources indicate wooden rather than terracotta plaques and argued persuasively that Aeneas' plaque must have been made of wood.<sup>34</sup> However, although wooden plaques must have been quite popular, especially in later times, it cannot be excluded that at least some of the plaques mentioned in the sources were of terracotta.

Best known of the few surviving painted wooden plaques are the four examples found in a cave sanctuary of the Nymphs at Pitsà in northern Peloponnese.<sup>35</sup> They were painted by a Corinthian artist and are dated to the second half of the sixth century BC. The best preserved one depicts a sacrificial procession (fig. 2).<sup>36</sup> Other examples, of the fourth century BC, come from outside the Greek area. Two wooden panels painted in a Greek style have been found in the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara, Egypt. The first one, which was found in the Iseum, is painted with an Egyptian scene of sacrifice;<sup>37</sup> the other, which is fragmentary, depicts an enthroned female figure, probably a divinity.<sup>38</sup>

Many more terracotta painted plaques survive,<sup>39</sup>

some with incised outlines as a guide for the colour. The earliest ones appeared in the mid-eighth century BC, if not earlier.<sup>40</sup> There are several late Geometric examples, but this type of offering did not become very popular until the second half of the seventh century BC, when the Corinthian series started.<sup>41</sup> Very famous are the painted plaques found at Penteskoufia, a few kilometers southwest of ancient Corinth. They date from the seventh to the early fifth century BC and were offerings to Poseidon and Amphitrite, as shown by the frequent inscriptions on them.<sup>42</sup> The Attic series supplies many examples in the sixth century BC but fewer in the fifth.<sup>43</sup> In the fourth century BC the painted terracotta plaques drastically declined in number all over Greece,<sup>44</sup> and it seems that those with painted relief scenes prevailed from that time on.

Among plaques with relief decoration there is only one surviving in wood, which owes its preservation to the unusually wet conditions of the Samian Heraion. It is a small plaque with a wide frame and depicts an *eidolon*-like figure lacking arms.<sup>45</sup> The vast majority of relief plaques are in terracotta. Although the production of painted plaques was part of the vase industry, the relief plaques were made in terracotta workshops together with figurines. Still, even though traces of colour are preserved on relatively few plaques, it must be considered certain that all relief plaques were originally painted.<sup>46</sup> The relief ground would



Fig. 2. Wooden painted plaque from Pitsà (Athens National Museum no. 16464).

have provided an easy guide for the painting, which did not require craftsmen skilled at figure work. The addition of painted details would have been particularly useful in the case of the small plaques, where there is not much space for many moulded details. Consequently, the figures on some that appear today very schematic - for example, a lump of clay for the head and a vertical strip for the body and legs (*fig. 3*) - would have taken a more naturalistic and lively appearance when provided with painted limbs, features, and attributes.<sup>47</sup> Even on more detailed plaques, minor elements must have been rendered only in paint.<sup>48</sup> The final effect would have been similar to the solely painted plaques, and indeed the two categories are closely related in shape, size, and function.<sup>49</sup> Some of them have even been found together, notably in the Penteskoufia deposit, where two relief plaques were among the mass of the solely painted ones.<sup>50</sup>

The earliest kind of terracotta relief was hand-made. By the late eighth century BC, another technique of making relief work was developed by pressing a stamp into the clay.<sup>51</sup> This technique, influenced by metal-working, was used mainly for the decoration of large vases and only rarely for plaques.<sup>52</sup> At about the same time, however, around 700 BC, the introduction of the mould from the East revolutionized the terracotta industry.<sup>53</sup> The use of moulds greatly increased mass-production of relief plaques, although it put some

limits to the range of subjects. This was in great contrast to the solely painted plaques, each example of which was individualized by being decorated separately with the brush.<sup>54</sup>

It seems that moulded terracotta artifacts appeared almost contemporaneously in three different parts of Greece: Samos, Corinth, and Crete. In Samos, the use of the mould seems to have been introduced from Cyprus and perhaps taught to natives by traveling Cypriot craftsmen.<sup>55</sup> Indeed some of the many Cypriot terracottas unearthed on Samos, dating from the first half of the seventh century BC, are mould-made.<sup>56</sup> From Corinth comes a fragmentary terracotta mould dating to the early seventh century BC; it was based on an eastern model but made in local clay.<sup>57</sup> The mould was used to make single female relief figures, which belong to one of the most common types of early mould-made plaques, the so-called Astarte plaques. Inspired by Syrian models, this type generally consists of an oblong rectangular or oval plaque showing a frontal naked woman with one hand to the breast and the other to the loins.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, one such plaque of Syrian origin has been found in Corinth.<sup>59</sup> Shortly after 700 BC, mould-made terracottas mainly of the 'Astarte' type with arms to the side appeared on Crete where they remained popular throughout the Archaic period.<sup>60</sup> At the same time, the production of another type of mould-made plaques flourished in Crete, with multiple figures on a square or rectangular background,<sup>61</sup> as would be the norm later. Many examples of this type have been discovered at the sanctuary on the akropolis of Gortyn. They were so fashionable that several early plaques found in other places of the Greek world were made from moulds of Cretan manufacture.<sup>62</sup>

The usual procedure in the coroplastic craft was to produce a mould<sup>63</sup> from a terracotta model, the prototype, which was created freehand.<sup>64</sup> Occasionally, the figures on some small schematic plaques may have been cut directly in the mould without the existence of a prototype.<sup>65</sup> Only a single mould was needed in the casting of the relief plaques, because only the front side was in relief. In general, a single frontal mould was used also for terracotta masks, shields, and some small figurines, in contrast to the figurines in the round that required a two-piece mould. The moulds were almost certainly made of terracotta,<sup>66</sup> but few of them have been found.<sup>67</sup>

The process of moulding the plaques can be reconstructed as follows. The worked and softened clay was rolled out until a uniform thickness was



*Fig. 3. Schematic plaque from Amyklai (Sparta Museum no. 6039/102).*

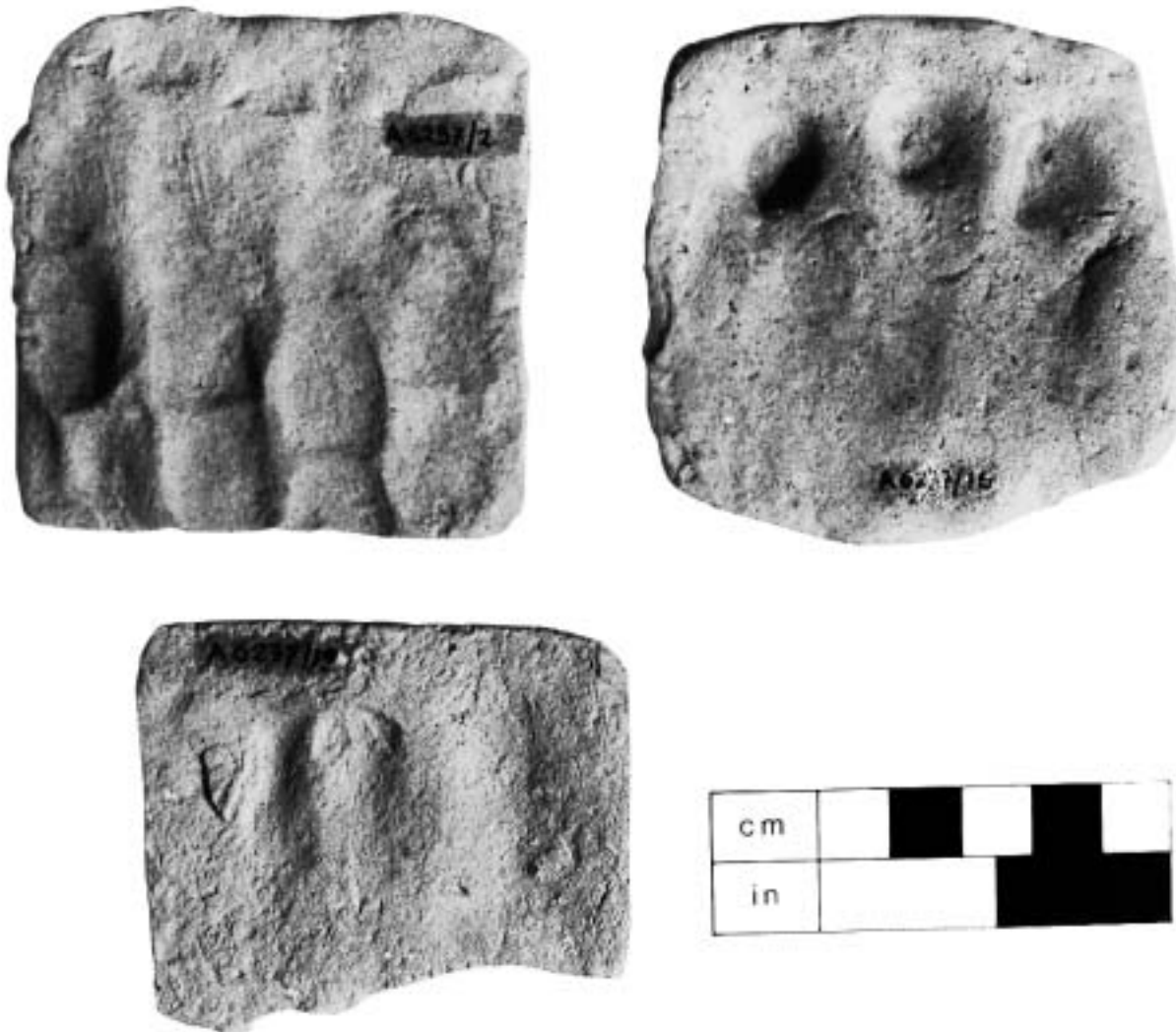


Fig. 4. Finger impressions and fingerprints at the back of plaques from Amyklai (Sparta Museum nos. 6237/2, 6237/16, 6237/19).

achieved; then the slab of damp clay was pressed firmly by hand on to the mould so as to pick up as many details as possible.<sup>68</sup> This action left impressions of the palm, fingers and fingerprints of the craftsman at the back of many pieces (fig. 4).<sup>69</sup> In many cases, the back surface of the plaques was leveled with a broad tool, scraper, or cloth.<sup>70</sup> In others, these traces from the coroplast's hands remained. The systematic study of such traces could provide useful information on the procedures and techniques employed in the manufacture of these objects: the number of craftsmen involved in the manufacture; the mobility of craftsmen; the types that were contemporary; and the types that were made by the same person.

Such information could thus help establish the relative chronology of moulded pieces.<sup>71</sup>

For the manufacture of plaques with high relief, successive layers of clay were pressed into the mould. Occasionally, segments of the reliefs, like heads, were moulded separately and attached to the plaque. This separate construction created a weak point of contact, resulting in some cases in the separation of the addition from the plaque.<sup>72</sup>

After the clay had slightly hardened and shrunk, because of the evaporation of water, the plaque could easily be taken out of the mould.<sup>73</sup> The surplus clay was often cut at the sides or folded over the back to form a rectangular plaque. Sometimes the scene was worked over freehand after mould-



ing to add or accentuate details. The plaque was then set on a flat surface to dry and was finally fired into a terracotta. Due to the shrinkage of clay during drying and firing of both the mould and the cast, the final product was smaller than the prototype. The degree of shrinkage depended on the type of clay, the duration of the firing, and the kiln temperature.<sup>74</sup> After firing, the plaques would have been painted, with the colours usually applied over a bed of white slip that covered the whole surface of the plaque.<sup>75</sup>

From a single prototype hundreds or even thousands of terracotta plaques could be produced, thus directly or indirectly constituting a 'mould series'. Plaques in the same mould series were cast variously in the same mould, in parallel moulds, or in moulds of different generations.<sup>76</sup>

Each mould, before being discarded, was used for the production of many plaques, or 'replicas', which were identical in size. Since with each moulding the mould deteriorated, the varying degree of sharpness and the number of details preserved facilitate the distinction between a plaque moulded earlier or later in the series. Occasionally, some intaglio retouching work was cut into the mould in order to refresh details that had become blurred.<sup>77</sup>

To replace moulds, since these deteriorated fast, and to multiply his production tools to meet market demand, the coroplast usually created several moulds from one prototype.<sup>78</sup> All moulds taken directly from the prototype are considered first generation moulds and the pieces cast in them, first generation plaques.<sup>79</sup> The coroplast might introduce changes to some first generation moulds through intaglio work. Such a reworking that altered, added, or eliminated details produced slightly different scenes and refreshed the appearance of others.<sup>80</sup> Such moulds are referred to as parallel moulds and the resulting casts as variants.<sup>81</sup>

The period of production of the same type of plaques was further extended by the use of derivative moulds. First generation plaques were used as prototypes for the production of new moulds.<sup>82</sup> The new pieces formed in these moulds - plaques of the second generation - were smaller and thinner, due to the further shrinkage of clay of both the new mould and the new plaques,<sup>83</sup> but otherwise identical in details to those cast in first generation moulds. The process of using plaques of earlier generations as new prototypes could be repeated several times, thus creating a family of related moulds and casts.<sup>84</sup> In the Amyklaian plaques, for example, the sequence has been fol-

lowed through five successive generations (*fig. 5*).<sup>85</sup>

As was the case with the repeated mouldings from one mould, several distortions may develop from the process of making new moulds from plaques cast in relatively tired moulds; thus, details in subsequent generations could be less sharp, minor elements could become unintelligible, and the modeling could lose its subtlety.<sup>86</sup> It was not unusual, therefore, for the coroplast to work upon the new mould in intaglio in order to refresh the worn-out details.<sup>87</sup>

In some cases, a large number of replicas, a variety of mould series and subsequent generations of plaques have been found together. In such cases of intensive production over a long period of time, we can assume the continuous operation of workshops, which must have been specializing in the production of votive plaques, among other terracottas, to be dedicated at various sanctuaries.<sup>88</sup> Undoubtedly, these offerings were popular objects bought and dedicated by ordinary people who could easily afford them.

#### PLAQUES AS VOTIVE OFFERINGS

The vast majority of independently used plaques have been discovered in sanctuaries and in particular in votive dumps. They were considered, therefore, appropriate for dedication. There are a couple of depictions of plaques being brought as offerings. For example, on an Attic vase of around 480 BC, a youth is carrying branches and a plaque depicting a striding man; on the other side, another (or the same) youth is carrying a full Panathenaic amphora.<sup>89</sup> The youth with the plaque must be a victor in the games bringing along a dedication, perhaps with his own depiction, since, as we know from Pausanias (5. 16. 3), victors were permitted to dedicate their painted pictures. The votive function of most plaques is corroborated by their depiction in a cultic context on vase paintings and reliefs (see below pp. 26-27).

Only very few plaques have been found in graves or residential quarters, and in most of these cases they can still be associated with a cult. Thus, the plaques found in or near Mycenaean graves were deposited as dedications to heroes whose cults developed in post-Mycenaean times.<sup>90</sup> Several relief plaques have been found in the residential area at Olynthos,<sup>91</sup> where they could have been related to a household cult. Some plaques from Kounavi and Knossos have been found in the kilns of pottery workshops. It cannot be ruled out, therefore, that their final destination was to be a sanctuary.<sup>92</sup>



It is generally assumed that the custom of offering plaques was introduced to Greece from the East during the seventh century BC, together with the mould technique, since plaques were very rare before that time. This fact, however, does not mean that the practice of dedicating plaques other than moulded terracotta ones did not exist earlier. It should be kept in mind that, although the earliest preserved plaques are indeed in terracotta, the disintegration of wood has deprived us of early examples in painted wood.<sup>93</sup> Lembessi specifically suggests that the votive plaque is a Mycenaean heritage, which was only revived and expanded through the easy and inexpensive mould technique introduced from the East.<sup>94</sup>

Be that as it may, since the Archaic period, plaques were commonly dedicated in sanctuaries as part of a crowded complex of offerings, such as vases, figurines, and statues. The primary importance of the plaques lies in the scenes depicted on them. Indeed plaques, like monumental paintings

and stone reliefs, are very well suited to depict a scene with a complex composition that includes more than one figure.<sup>95</sup> Even when only single figures are shown, it is possible to represent them in a bold stance and with attributes that either would not appear clearly in the round or could easily break off.<sup>96</sup> Plaques, therefore, may have been dedicated as a votive type quite distinct from figurines, with which they are commonly grouped.

The wide geographic distribution of plaques indicates that this type of offering was not restricted to particular deities or sanctuaries; it could thus be dedicated to both gods and heroes of either sex. Aeneas Tacticus' stratagem (see above p. 20) implies that the rider plaque was a very ordinary offering in the fourth century BC and could be dedicated at any shrine.<sup>97</sup> Still, the name attributed to it, 'heroic', implies that some types of plaques, by at least the late Classical period, represented or referred to a hero. Thus, even if



*Fig. 5. Mould series of five generations of plaques from Amyklai (Sparta Museum nos. 6229/9, 6229/1, 6229/3, 6229/2, 6229/6).*

plaques were brought to a sanctuary of a god, they could have been intended for a hero worshipped there.<sup>98</sup> Accordingly, even though plaques in general seem not to have been restricted to particular divinities, some types could have been reserved for specific kinds of divinities.<sup>99</sup>

#### METHODS OF DISPLAY IN SANCTUARIES

Votive offerings were brought into the sanctuaries, presented to the honoured deities and remained afterwards as a tangible expression of devotion and remembrance. Statues, stelai, and other grand dedications were left on exhibit permanently, or at least for a long time, so that they would be enjoyed by both divinity and visitors. It is not very clear, however, where and for how long small, unpretentious offerings of lesser value and aesthetic quality, such as wooden and terracotta plaques and figurines, were displayed; or even whether all of them would be placed on display. Such objects are rarely found *in situ*<sup>100</sup> or mentioned in contemporary inscriptions.<sup>101</sup> Still, as generally concluded, small offerings could have been left near or even on the altar, on offering tables, benches, or shelves, in niches, and even on the cult statue itself or at its feet.<sup>102</sup> They could also have been left on the ground or placed inside sacrificial pits, probably in order to obtain close contact with the deities of especially chthonic sanctuaries.<sup>103</sup> Lightweight objects could have hung on the walls, the central beam, rafters or ceiling of a temple or stoa,<sup>104</sup> on the trees of sacred groves,<sup>105</sup> and inside caves.<sup>106</sup>

In order to establish the way plaques in particular were displayed in sanctuaries, we can draw upon literary, visual, and archaeological sources. Technical examination of the plaques themselves also offers valuable additional information. At first sight the evidence from literary sources about the display of such 'second-rate' votives like plaques may seem slight, but there are some references that yield valuable clues about the display of plaques in sanctuaries, both in the open air and inside buildings. In *Anthologia Palatina* 6. 221 shepherds are mentioned who, having been saved from a lion, dedicated to Pan and hung on an oak tree a representation of their adventure, presumably on a plaque.<sup>107</sup> A Hellenistic inscription from Miletos prohibits fastening plaques or other offerings to the woodwork of the new stoa or to the columns of the Apollo sanctuary.<sup>108</sup> Herondas in his *mimiambus* 4.11-19 narrates the visit of two women to a sanctuary: very soon after entering, they put their gift, a *pinax*, to the

right of Hygieia's image. Pliny (*NH* 35. 27) gives the following description of a painting by Nikias: 'Nemea, palm in hand is seated upon a lion and by her side stands an old man with a staff, over whose head hangs a tablet with a two-horse cart on it.'<sup>109</sup> Herondas' and Pliny's reports imply that the plaques were hung either on a wall or from a beam near the cult statue.<sup>110</sup> A reference in Aischylos suggests that plaques could also be placed on the cult statue itself.<sup>111</sup> Such a practice, which puts the offering into direct contact with the deity, at least at the beginning,<sup>112</sup> is corroborated by a seated terracotta figurine from Policoro which, as reported, holds in its lap a cup and a plaque.<sup>113</sup>

Although caution should be exercised in considering representations on vases and reliefs as faithful illustrations of reality, iconographic sources may provide a welcome supplement to the literary information. In several artworks plaques are represented, with the setting depicted often being a sanctuary; these are mainly scenes in the open air with trees from whose branches plaques often hang.<sup>114</sup> Thus three small plaques hang on the branches of a tree in a scene of sacrifice on an Attic krater of the second half of the fifth century BC. They are decorated with cursorily painted figures, a dancing satyr, a rider leading a second horse, and a dancing maenad.<sup>115</sup> On the painted frieze from the so-called tomb of Philip at Vergina, the hunting scene, which takes place in a sacred grove, indicates that a plaque could also be fastened on to the trunk of a tree.<sup>116</sup>

Some plaques are represented as hanging in mid-air near the altar. This must have been a shorthand way of denoting that they were hung against the outer wall of a building (for example, the temple or a stoa) or from a tree branch. The most common setting of such a scene is a hypaethral sanctuary of Hermes, a scene popular in Attic red-figure vase painting of the second quarter of the fifth century BC. The usual accompaniment of the scene is one or more plaques with painted figures such as a herm, a siren, or a satyr.<sup>117</sup> In at least one example the strings or thongs through which two plaques were suspended are also shown.<sup>118</sup>

At times a more specific location is indicated, as on a fifth-century fragmentary vase where a plaque is shown hanging from the architrave of a temple,<sup>119</sup> and on a South Italian vase where a plaque hangs on a small fountain house.<sup>120</sup> The wall on which a plaque is hanging may also be implied to be inside a building.<sup>121</sup> Thus on a terracotta relief arula from Medma, depicting an

interior scene involving a seated youth and a woman, there is the representation of a plaque in the background. The plaque is framed and portrays in relief a nude male figure (partly preserved) next to an animal or object.<sup>122</sup> A seventh-century BC fragmentary terracotta relief plaque found on Andros represents a female figure and to the right a plaque illustrating in relief a warrior; the plaque is shown probably fixed with nails in at least the two preserved corners (see below p. 28 n. 151).<sup>123</sup> In view of the findspot of the plaque (inside a temple together with a second plaque),<sup>124</sup> this could be a depiction of the inside of a shrine with the cult figure and a votive plaque attached to the wall. Finally, in the corner of banquet stone reliefs sometimes appears a relief plaque decorated with a rider.<sup>125</sup> It most likely represents a terracotta votive plaque affixed to the wall,<sup>126</sup> and indeed numerous actual examples of such rider plaques have been discovered all over the Greek world.<sup>127</sup>

It is possible that some plaques were occasionally displayed on top of wooden columns or pillars, as shown by an Attic black-figure pelike with a religious scene in the open air involving two seated male figures; next to a tree there is a tall, slim doric column (presumably of wood) supporting a small pedimental plaque with open shutters depicting two riders.<sup>128</sup>

Although not in a sanctuary setting, the plaques depicted on the name piece by the Foundry Painter seem associated with a cult.<sup>129</sup> There are four of them hanging from a pair of horns above the kiln of a metal workshop, together with two heads, branches, and garlands. The plaques are painted with individual figures, a he-goat, a seated figure, a man holding a tool, and a figure wearing chiton and holding a torch. This vase has provoked the most controversial opinions on the nature of the objects depicted above the kiln. The plaques and the heads have been considered samples or models for the artist, apotropaic objects, and votives in a private shrine, in particular to the smith god.<sup>130</sup> Simon, followed by Korres, interpreted the two heads as protomes of Hephaistos and Athena, the protectors of craftsmen.<sup>131</sup> It is indeed very likely that the heads are types of cult images and the plaques are votives, probably to divinities related to bronze-working.<sup>132</sup>

It should be pointed out here that the material and decoration technique of plaques appearing on painted and relief scenes cannot be established with certainty. The plaques could have been of clay or wood, and the decoration, although rendered on the vase paintings in paint and on the

reliefs in relief, could have represented either solely painted or painted relief figures.<sup>133</sup> As regards the particular case of the Foundry cup, Lembessi, drawing on her study of the 'cut-out' metal reliefs from Kato Symi, makes the interesting suggestion that the plaques could be of wood, and the representations metal 'cut-outs' attached to them.<sup>134</sup>

Archaeological findings supply additional evidence on the display of plaques. Although votive plaques are usually found away from their original area of exhibit, usually in votive dumps (see below p. 31), there are a few cases in which they have been found inside the temple, thus probably at or near the location of their original display.<sup>135</sup> It is reported, for example, that in the temple at Koukounaries on Paros a terracotta relief plaque was discovered lying on the latest floor of the cella together with other offerings; this suggests that these votives were displayed inside the temple, probably on the benches along the east and north wall.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, some painted plaques were found in the floor deposit of the Telesterion at Eleusis.<sup>137</sup> The fragments of another painted plaque from the same site were found near the altar area.<sup>138</sup> In Knossos several relief plaques were found in a cult room containing a table of offerings and probably a hearth. Their findspot in the destruction debris well above the floor and the suspension holes with which they are equipped indicate that they were originally hanging.<sup>139</sup> Finally, holes left by nails on the exterior of the southeastern anta wall of the temple of Hera at Olympia clearly show that plaques were nailed there.<sup>140</sup>

Literary, pictorial, and archaeological evidence is supplemented by technical observations of the surviving plaques themselves. These are often equipped with holes that would have served for suspension or attachment. The plaques are pierced once or twice before firing<sup>141</sup> through the background (in most cases), through a small lug over the top centre,<sup>142</sup> or even vertically through the thickness of the plaque from the top.<sup>143</sup> It seems that in the last two cases the method of perforation was chosen because it would not interfere with the scene depicted.<sup>144</sup> The perforations, usually round,<sup>145</sup> were commonly done from the front (relief) side to the back,<sup>146</sup> as shown by the ridge around the hole on the opposite side created by the extruded clay.<sup>147</sup>

The positioning of the holes on the plaques enables us to visualize the way of their suspension or attachment. When plaques have either one or two holes relatively close together in the top

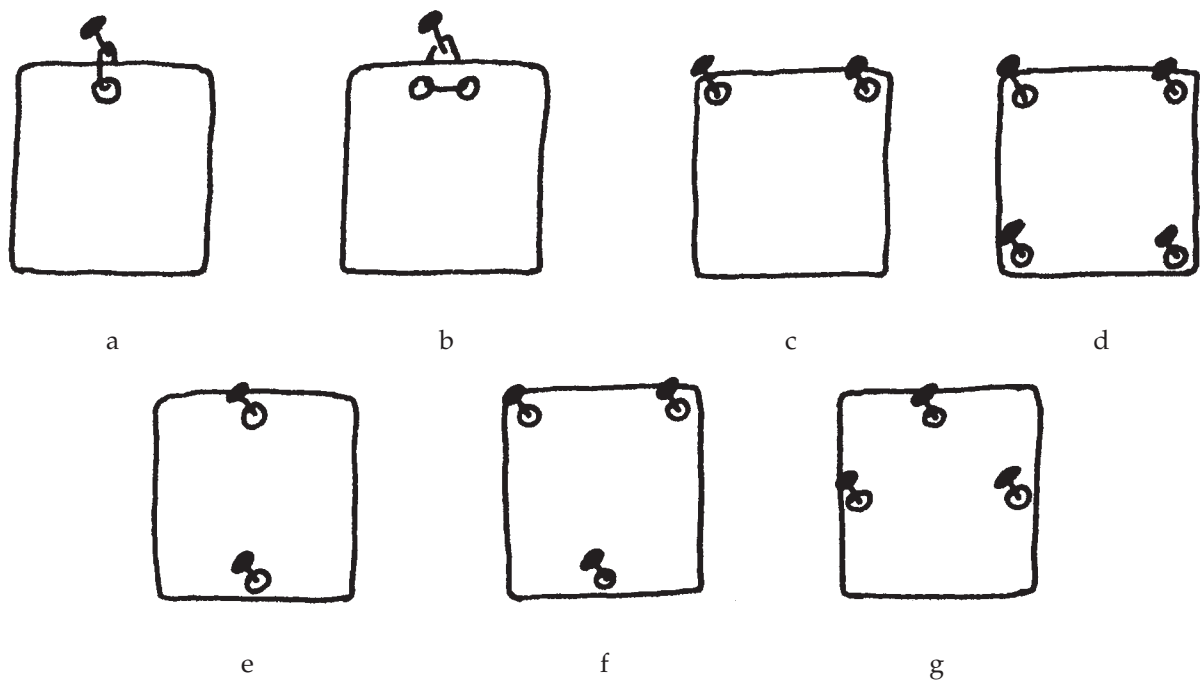


Fig. 6. Different ways of displaying plaques equipped with holes.

centre (fig. 6a-b), it can safely be assumed that they were meant to hang either free (from a tree branch or beam) or against a wall,<sup>148</sup> by means of a string or thongs, or, in the case of metal plaques, a metal ring.<sup>149</sup> If the holes are far apart from each other, usually in the two upper corners,<sup>150</sup> or in all four corners (fig. 6c-d),<sup>151</sup> the plaque was most likely nailed to a wall,<sup>152</sup> although only in a few cases have traces of wear been noticed inside and around the holes.<sup>153</sup> Nailing can also be assumed in the following cases: when there are two holes, one at the top centre and the other at the bottom centre;<sup>154</sup> when there are three holes, two in the upper corners and one in the middle bottom;<sup>155</sup> or when there is one hole in the upper centre and another in the middle of each side (fig. 6e-g).<sup>156</sup> An exceptional terracotta plaque from Corinth has two holes in each corner, joined by a groove impressed while the clay was still wet, as if a string passed through the holes before firing. Boardman thought that the plaque was suspended by thongs or a cord, but Brulotte has recently suggested that the combination of grooves and holes was meant to receive a PI-shaped bracket.<sup>157</sup> Other peculiar arrangements of the holes, as when there are two close together on one side only,<sup>158</sup> or one only in one corner,<sup>159</sup> leave uncertain the method of display.

Some pierced painted plaques, mainly from Corinth, Eleusis, and the Athenian Akropolis, have pictures on both sides.<sup>160</sup> It is therefore reasonable to assume that these were intended to hang free, presumably from trees, or from the ceiling beams of a sanctuary building.<sup>161</sup> Still it is puzzling that the scenes on the two sides of some plaques from Penteskoufia have different orientation: the figure of Poseidon conforms to the vertical axis of the plaque, while the scene of craftsmen on the other side conforms to the horizontal axis. The figure of the god was apparently on the more important side, because the holes were located on the edge above his head. Therefore, when hung, the god would be upright but the scene on the back would be on its side or upside down.<sup>162</sup> Boardman suggested that the main purpose for the holes on such plaques was their hanging in the kiln during firing.<sup>163</sup> If so, however, a trace of the metal wire on the clay, which must have been still quite soft, would have been preserved. The conflicting orientation of the scenes on these plaques could be attributed simply to the carelessness of the painter.

It is possible that when holes are placed in the corners or sides, terracotta plaques may have been nailed not on to a wall but on to a wooden background, which was subsequently hung.<sup>164</sup>



The practice of securing a plaque on to a background of different material was chiefly used for plaques made of a thin sheet of metal, which thus became more substantial and protected.<sup>165</sup> Where holes exist, the sheet would have been secured with nails;<sup>166</sup> otherwise it would have been glued on. Inscriptions refer indeed to such reliefs applied on a *pinakion* or *sanidion*, the latter clearly

of wood.<sup>167</sup> The colour contrast, especially where the background of the metal plaque was cut away, would have created a pleasing effect similar to that of the terracotta plaques painted in the black-figure technique.<sup>168</sup> An observation by Zancani-Montuoro regarding some terracotta relief plaques from Lokroi provides support for such a reconstruction. The Italian scholar noticed that some of



Fig. 7. Attempted suspension holes on a plaque from Amyklai (Sparta Museum no. 6138/1).

the plaques have a wide margin surrounding the relief ground like a frame. The two areas are painted with two different colours: the margin in red and the relief ground in a kind of metallic colour. This colour scheme seems an imitation in terracotta of a silver plaque with relief figures applied on to a background of wood.<sup>169</sup>

Interestingly, the holes were very often in a position that prevented the plaque from hanging straight, as, for example, on a terracotta relief plaque in the Louvre which is equipped with two holes on top, to the left and right of the head of Artemis, but not in the centre of the plaque.<sup>170</sup> If hung, the plaque would tilt to the right. This careless piercing has been considered an indication that such plaques were not meant to hang free but to be nailed on to a wall or a wooden background.<sup>171</sup> Terracotta plaques, however, were inexpensive offerings usually made very quickly and with not much attention to detail. The piercing of holes was a mechanical action of the coroplast, done very carelessly and without major concern for a straight hanging.<sup>172</sup> Moreover, as Boardman remarked, even if the holes were perfectly in the centre, this could not prevent a crookedly hanging plaque, as with paintings hanging in modern houses.<sup>173</sup> The depiction of a relief plaque suspended on the wall 'a little crookedly' on the arula from Medma (above pp. 26-27) confirms that in ancient times absolute straightness in the exhibiting of such common offerings was not essential.<sup>174</sup> The carelessness in the manufacture of terracotta plaques is also indicated by perforations that were started but for some reason not completed. Thus on an Amyklaian plaque (*fig. 7*) there is an attempt at piercing two holes, and on two others there is one fully pierced hole and another half-pierced to the right. In the latter case it seems that, although the craftsman at the beginning intended to make two holes, he later decided to stay with only one.<sup>175</sup>

It is of interest to note that, among plaques found in the same area, there is a variation in the provision of holes depending on the scene and the mould series. Thus, for example, among the Lakonian plaques provision for suspension seems limited to plaques that show particular scenes or belong to certain mould series.<sup>176</sup> On the other hand, pieces of the same series made in moulds of different generations, or even in the same mould, could receive different treatment regarding the holes.<sup>177</sup> The size of the plaques must also be of relevance at least in Lakonia, since no plaque smaller than 0.09 m in height is equipped with holes.

Some terracotta relief plaques are equipped with a special feature at the back that facilitates display. It is a strut of clay, hand-made and usually cylindrical, which allows them to stand upright in the same way that modern photo frames do (*fig. 8*).<sup>178</sup> Such support legs seem to be limited to plaques depicting a reclining figure, as seen in examples from Lakonia, Messenia, Corinth, and Taras.<sup>179</sup> Another, exceptional, way to hold a plaque upright involves a strip of clay added across the bottom at the back, as on a 'cut-out' rider relief from Corinth.<sup>180</sup> Finally, the couch of the reclining figure may be moulded also on the sides, thus forming a base for support; technically, however, these are no longer relief plaques but backless figurines.<sup>181</sup>

There are some other peculiar features developed to facilitate the display of plaques. Some relief examples from the cave of Lera in west Crete are equipped at the back with a vertically



*Fig. 8. Support leg on the plaque with a reclining figure illustrated in Fig. 1 (Sparta Museum no. X9).*

pierced protuberance. A peg passing through the hole and secured in the ground could have held the plaque upright.<sup>182</sup> A Hellenistic plaque from Lakonia is reported as having loops at the back.<sup>183</sup> Depending on the direction of the holes, the plaque could be supported in the same way, if vertically pierced, or, if horizontally, it could have hung free.

Finally, plaques lacking holes for suspension or nailing, or any means for support (a quite substantial percentage) (*fig. 3*),<sup>184</sup> could have been positioned on or against a surface (altar, shelf, table or bench), left on the ground, or placed in sacrificial pits (*bothroi*).<sup>185</sup> Still the lack of holes or struts implies that such plaques were not meant to be exhibited for long, if at all.

In summary, from the various sources of information available today, we deduce several ways in which plaques could be displayed: some would be suspended from trees and the woodwork of a temple or other structures like stoas, while others would have hung on either internal or external walls; some could be attached to a wooden background plaque with nails, or nailed directly on to a wall; a few would stand upright with the help of support legs or pierced struts, while a large number, especially the smaller ones, would lie on tables or shelves, on or near the altar and the cult statue, or simply on the ground. Nevertheless, one cannot be sure if the way of display the craftsman had in mind for a plaque was in fact put into practice; because even if plaques were originally equipped with holes, they might never have been hung or nailed for lack of space.

#### DISPOSAL

When a sanctuary became crowded with small, inexpensive votives like plaques, a general cleaning followed to make room for subsequent offerings. During this clean up, the old dedications would have been removed and buried, usually inside the *temenos*.<sup>186</sup> The removal of offerings from their exhibit area might also be occasioned by a destruction of the sanctuary from natural causes or war, or by a renovation.<sup>187</sup> Such buried accumulations of offerings, which although discarded were still regarded as divine property, are today called votive deposits, and their receptacles, votive pits.<sup>188</sup>

It is not clear what name was used in antiquity to denote these clusters, since only seldom is the discarding of offerings mentioned in literary sources.<sup>189</sup> The votive pits could be simple, natural cavities in the rock, sometimes closed on one

side by a low wall,<sup>190</sup> or trenches of various depths, either round or rectangular,<sup>191</sup> which were dug into the earth or rock and were sometimes revetted with slabs<sup>192</sup> or built walls.<sup>193</sup> In several cases there was a clear intention to economize space by stacking the objects one within the other.<sup>194</sup> The votives in such deposits usually represent the production of a long period of time, since they consist of objects dedicated over many years. Material from different periods is found mixed together, so that a stratification within votive deposits is rarely determinable, and the position of an object may only indicate the relative sequence according to which it was placed there.<sup>195</sup>

Nonetheless, in some cases the arrangement of the offerings in a deposit may reflect their original display location. Thus the offerings found in the votive deposit at Ayia Paraskevi, Amyklai were carefully deposited according to a distinctive pattern with the plaques placed, relief side down, in the centre, two large terracotta reliefs in the middle of the plaques, and the vases grouped according to shapes around them. It appears, therefore, that the votives after being removed from their display area were discarded with great care. It can be assumed that the offerings were disposed of according to type simply because they were also displayed more or less in a similar manner; it would have been easier then for the attendants of the sanctuary during a clean up to collect first one type and then another and bury them accordingly.<sup>196</sup>

It is commonly held that terracotta votives, and consequently plaques, were intentionally broken after being removed from their display area, to prevent their re-use.<sup>197</sup> Such supposed ritual breaking is considered the reason why terracottas are often found in deposits in fragmentary condition.<sup>198</sup> However, even though such a ritual may have existed,<sup>199</sup> it was not universally applied, since not all terracottas are found broken;<sup>200</sup> it is more common for the larger and thinner objects, which were more subject to breakage, to be found in fragmentary condition than for the smaller ones which are often found intact.<sup>201</sup> Terracottas could break while still on display, while they were being removed or thrown into the pit, or during the centuries they remained buried, because of the pressure of the layers of soil and other natural factors.<sup>202</sup>

From the above overview it will have become clear that Greek votive plaques were common, usually very affordable, and often mass-produced



offerings that fulfilled the votive needs of any ordinary person. Although metal and even stone votive plaques did exist, more popular must have been the wooden painted plaques and the terracotta plaques with either solely painted or painted relief decoration. These could have been dedicated as small, inexpensive versions of the larger and more elaborate stone reliefs presented by the affluent.<sup>203</sup> Literary, iconographical and archaeological information, as well as technical features, indicate that many votive plaques were hung on or affixed to the interior or exterior of sanctuary buildings, or were suspended from trees. A few could stand upright, while a large number, especially those lacking holes or support means, were simply left lying somewhere in the sanctuary. After an undetermined period of time, presumably not too long, the plaques, together with other inexpensive offerings, were removed from their exhibit area to make room for subsequent dedications. However, even if they were disposed of, they were not destroyed; they were buried, sometimes with exceptional care, in special locations that were usually inside the boundaries of the sanctuary.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> See the many terracotta plaques discovered about a century ago in Gortyn, Crete (Forster 1904-1905, 243-244; Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968) and the plaques from Troy (Thompson 1963; Barr 1996).
- <sup>2</sup> Paola Zancani-Montuoro was working on the publication of the totality of the Lokrian plaques until her death a few years ago. The three largest collections of the Lokrian plaques are in Reggio-Calabria, Locri, and Heidelberg.
- <sup>3</sup> Cf. Miller 1983, 6.
- <sup>4</sup> Amyklai (Ayia Paraskevi deposit): Salapata 1992; Salapata 1993, 189 with references; Antonaccio 1995, 181-182; another similar deposit, still unpublished, was excavated in 1998 nearby (I thank the excavator N. Themis for this information). Sparta (several deposits): Wace 1905-1906, Salapata 1992, 159-179. Messene: Themelis 1998; Themelis 2000. Voidokilia: Korres 1982, Korres 1985; Peppas-Papaioannou 1987-1988; Antonaccio 1995, 80-81.
- <sup>5</sup> Hom. *Od.* 12.67: planks of a ship.
- <sup>6</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.169; Aesch. *Supp.* 946; Ar. *Thesm.* 778; Pl. *Criti.* 120C; Rouse 1902, 178.
- <sup>7</sup> Benndorf 1868, 9-10, n. 34; Rouse 1902, 178; Boardman 1954, 187 with references; Moreno 1965, 171.
- <sup>8</sup> Boardman 1954, 187; Aleshire 1989, 147-148.
- <sup>9</sup> Although no literary source mentions clearly a plaque in terracotta by the name *pinax* or *pinakion*, it is very probable that these terms were applied to such plaques. However, the *pinakes* or *pinakiskoi kerameoi* of Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 23. 5 and Poll. *Onom.* 7. 162 are not terracotta plaques, as one might expect, but ceramic plates: Benndorf 1868, 10 n. 45; Boardman 1954, 187, n. 38.
- <sup>10</sup> Jacobsthal (1931, 108-109) proposed that the majority of

the so-called Melian reliefs were attached to wooden chests deposited as grave offerings, or perhaps to coffins. See also Richter 1953, 80; Higgins 1954, nos. 609-623. Contra: Graham 1958, esp. 316-318, who believes they were made primarily for house decoration. The small 'cut-out' terracotta reliefs of cocks, gorgons or sphinxes, almost all of Corinthian origin (Stillwell 1952, 155-156, 158-159), have perforations assumed to have been for attachment to furniture (Higgins 1967, 83). It is possible, however, that such reliefs were hung as decoration or dangled for the entertainment of children, as they have been found occasionally in children's graves together with dolls: see *Ergon* 1957, 52-53, figs. 54-55.

- <sup>11</sup> For an Attic series of such plaques, see Boardman 1955.
- <sup>12</sup> For paintings with erotic subject matter probably in private hands, see Eur. *Hipp.* 1005 and for an actual fragmentary plaque, see Boardman 2001, 229, who, however, does not exclude a cultic function. A unique stone plaque with figures lightly incised as a guide for painting has been discovered in Persepolis and was thus in private, perhaps royal, possession. The plaque, made locally in Greek style at around 500 BC, represents the contest of Apollo and Herakles for the tripod in the presence of Artemis. The use of stone for this plaque was probably influenced by the local practice of painting on stone: Roaf and Boardman 1980.
- <sup>13</sup> See, e.g., Salapata 1992, 205; cf. the Dioskouroi series from Taras: Stefanelli 1977, 388.
- <sup>14</sup> For a tiny plaque recycled from a potsherd, see Van Straten 1992, 251.
- <sup>15</sup> E.g., Salapata 1992, pl. 15a; Korres 1982, 203, pl. 135. Two rider plaques from the Argolid (of the fifth or fourth century BC) seem also to have a curved top: Peppas-Papaioannou 1987-1988, pl. 74 200 A290; Guggisberg 1988a, 218-219, no. 104 (fig. 21). Guggisberg assumes that it is a round plaque but in the photograph the plaque has to be tilted slightly to the left for the back of the rider to be upright. Cf. stone rider reliefs from the Hellenistic and Roman periods: Bordenache 1969, nos. 223-224 (pl. XCV), 233 (pl. XCVIII). For some small round plaques from Gortyn, see Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 184 no. 216 (pl. XXXII).
- <sup>16</sup> Salapata 1992, 205, 328-329; Korres 1982, 202 and pl. 134; Peppas-Papaioannou 1987-1988, 266-269 and figs. 2-9. Cf. also a mould from Taras: Neutsch 1961, 152.
- <sup>17</sup> E.g., Van Straten 1981, fig. 27 (Niinnion plaque); Barr 1996, 134, fig. 9.
- <sup>18</sup> Bosanquet 1905-1906, 333-336, figs. 1-3; Dawkins et al. 1929, pls. LXIV-LXXI. Cf. a stone plaque from Cyprus: Van Straten 1992, 253.
- <sup>19</sup> Similar offerings in silver and tin (and occasionally in gold) are still hung in front of the miraculous icons in the churches of Greece and are called *tamata* (vows): Papadakis 1971. For metal plaques mentioned in inscriptions, see Aleshire 1991, 45.
- <sup>20</sup> On several inscriptions it is mentioned that old metal offerings were melted down to create a new offering or cult equipment that would occupy less space: Sokolowski 1969, nos. 41, 42, 70; Linders 1972, 51 n. 6, 54, 69 n. 15, 75 n. 60; Aleshire 1989, 46, 104; Van Straten 1992, 252, 273-274.
- <sup>21</sup> A few matrices for the production of metal reliefs survive; see, e.g., a Late Hellenistic example apparently used to make decorative small reliefs: Reeder Williams 1984-1985, 24-31. Another Hellenistic bronze matrix made by the lost wax process is published in Reeder 1987.



- <sup>22</sup> The ancient term for reliefs made by hammering over a matrix is *toreutos*, while for those in repoussé is probably *katamaktos*: Aleshire 1989, 232. For a discussion of the technique of metal reliefs, see Richter 1941, 375-377; Hill 1943.
- <sup>23</sup> Ninou n.d. 104-106 nos. 434, 441, 442, 444, 449, 454 (bronze). Ninou n.d. 104-106 nos. 435, 437, 443, 445, 446, 448, 450-53, 455-457 (pls. 60, 62) (silver). Vavritsas 1973, 77-79, pls. 94 left, 95 (silver); pl. 96 (silver-plated). Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi 1984, 62 fig. 10; Ninou n.d. 104 nos. 436, 438-440 (gold). Ninou n.d. 106 no. 453, fig. 62; Vavritsas pl. 92; Ninou n.d. 105 no. 447 (pl. 62) (gold-plated plaque of Kybele). Another similar relief of Kybele was found in Eretria: Reber (1983, 83), argues that such reliefs were originally pendants worn by the priests and devotees of Kybele's cult, a custom known from literary sources. Although the Mesembria plaques are considered to be repoussé work (Aleshire 1989, 232 n. 1), Reeder (1987, 429) argues that the two Kybele reliefs were matrix-hammered. It is actually quite difficult to distinguish between reliefs hammered over a matrix and ones made in repoussé: Reeder Williams 1984-1985, 29-30.
- <sup>24</sup> Lembessi 1985.
- <sup>25</sup> Lembessi 1985, 69, 73.
- <sup>26</sup> Lembessi 1985, 70, 73. Cf. also the 'Melian' reliefs with cut-away background in a technique taken over from metalwork: Lembessi 1985, 78-79.
- <sup>27</sup> A general treatment of painted plaques can be found in Benndorf 1868, 9-17 and Boardman 1954; the latter examines the eighth- and seventh-century BC plaques, with a list at pp. 195-201. A list of votive terracotta painted plaques from Attika can be found in Brooklyn 1981, nos. 149-150. See also Wagner 2001.
- <sup>28</sup> Benndorf 1868, 10; Van Straten 1992, 78-79; Wagner 2001, 96-97. The wooden plaques restored as background of the metal 'cut-out' reliefs would strengthen this point: see p. 29.
- <sup>29</sup> Boardman 1954, 189.
- <sup>30</sup> Scheibler 1979, 14, 23.
- <sup>31</sup> 31.15-16. Benndorf 1868, 11; Robinson 1906, 167-168; Boardman 1954, 186.
- <sup>32</sup> *Nat. D.* 3.89; Van Straten 1981, 78.
- <sup>33</sup> See, e.g., the reference in a grave inscription to an *eikona graptan* dedicated at the temenos of Pallas on the Athenian Akropolis (*CLA* iii. 1330); *eikonikoi pinakes* are mentioned in a regulatory inscription: Benndorf 1868, 14-16.
- <sup>34</sup> Boardman 1954, 186-190; contra: Benndorf 1868, 11-12. Boardman thus refuted Benndorf's assumption that those who painted plaques (*tois ta pinakia graphousi*, mentioned in *Isoc.* 310. 2) were certainly painters of terracotta plaques.
- <sup>35</sup> Orlandos 1965; Walter-Karydi 1986. Since the plaques were considered sensitive to light, only their replicas - fortunately made immediately after their discovery - are exhibited at the Athens National Museum. Cf. a fourth-century BC inscription from a cave dedicated to the Nymphs and Pan at Pharsalos (*SEG* 1.248), where among other offerings are mentioned *pinakes*: Van Straten 1981, 79.
- <sup>36</sup> Orlandos 1965, colour plate; Walter-Karydi 1986, fig. 1.
- <sup>37</sup> Nicholls 1979, pls. 1, 60, 85.
- <sup>38</sup> Cook 1981, pl. 36. There has been a mention in print of an otherwise unpublished wooden plaque from the Inatos cave in Crete, now in the Herakleion Museum: Lembessi 1985, 73 n. 80. A Samian wooden plaque topped with a gable has been interpreted as originally having a painted depiction of a standing female figure: Kopcke 1967, 141 no. 31, pl. 79.1-2.
- <sup>39</sup> Rouse's argument (1902, 80), that the reason why not many terracotta plaques survive - he was writing more than a century ago, when relatively few had been discovered - is due to their destruction as unimportant objects, is not sound. Terracotta objects, as it is well known, can seldom be totally obliterated and be absent from the archaeological record, although painted ones may lose their colouring.
- <sup>40</sup> See an odd Attic example published in Hampe 1957. The plaque is provided with a long stem pierced at the top and is painted on one side with a swastika; there are traces of painting on the other side as well. Hampe interpreted it as a votive plaque dedicated at a sanctuary - probably hung on a tree - a forerunner of the Archaic and Classical plaques. Lembessi 1985, 81 found a typological relation between this abstract Geometric plaque and the Sub-Minoan plaque from Karphi topped with a schematic head (*BSA* 38 [1937-1938] pl. 35.1).
- <sup>41</sup> Boardman 1954, 193.
- <sup>42</sup> More than 1,000 fragments are divided between the Antikenmuseum in Berlin, the Louvre in Paris and the Corinth Museum, a serious hindrance to their study; published in Furtwängler 1891, 3-4 and Furtwängler 1908, sections 1893-1894 (p. 8), 1895-1898 (p. 6), 1899-1901 (p. 3); Furtwängler 1885, 47-105; for a more recent treatment, see Geagan 1970.
- <sup>43</sup> Boardman 1954, 193; Wagner 2001, 98, 103.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>45</sup> Kyrieleis 1980, 105-106 no. 17, pl. 27.1; Kyrieleis 1988, 216.
- <sup>46</sup> Higgins 1954, 7; Barr 1996, 135; cf. the 'Melian' reliefs. No trace of colour exists on the plaques from Voidokilia except for remains of a black, slightly lustrous paint on both sides: Peppa-Papaioannou 1987-1988, 260; this, however, does not mean that they did not originally have painted details, as Peppa-Papaioannou assumes.
- <sup>47</sup> Salapata 1993, 192; Higgins 1954, 7; Mollard-Besques 1963, 27-29; Peppa-Papaioannou 1987-1988, 260. See a plaque found in the Athenian Agora representing a frontal female figure flanked by snakes; her head is in mould-made relief with painted details, but from the neck down she is rendered in paint: Burr 1933, 604-609 no. 277 (figs. 72-73). On a situla from Arkades, Crete, there is the same combination of techniques: Burr 1933, 606-607.
- <sup>48</sup> See, e.g., a rider plaque from Corinth where the reins are partly in relief and partly in dark red paint: Davidson 1952, 40 no. 216 (pl. 17); some plaques from Praisos representing a figure which must have held a painted staff: Dohan 1931, 215 figs. 10-12; a 'Melian' relief where the strings of the lyre are only partially shown in relief; the rest were probably in paint: Jacobsthal 1931, 58 no. 77.
- <sup>49</sup> Boardman 1954, 191.
- <sup>50</sup> Furtwängler 1908, pl. 24 no. 27; pl. 29 no. 20. Schilardi (1988, 45) reports that in the temple deposit at Koukounaries relief and painted plaques with the representation of a goddess, probably Athena, were found together.
- <sup>51</sup> Boardman 1980, 76.
- <sup>52</sup> Waldstein 1905, 47-49, pl. XLIX nos. 9-10. A plaque found in the Samian Heraion is decorated with one motif - a warrior carrying the body of another - repeated several times: Ohly 1941, 8, 35, pl. 11 no. 416.
- <sup>53</sup> Higgins 1967, 25: the introduction was either from Syria

- through Cyprus or directly from Cyprus.
- <sup>54</sup> Boardman 1954, 191; Higgins 1967, 25.
- <sup>55</sup> Dunbabin 1957, 50.
- <sup>56</sup> Schmidt 1968, 9-21.
- <sup>57</sup> Stillwell 1948, 87-88, pl. 29.1.
- <sup>58</sup> Riis 1948-1949; Payne et al. 1940, 231-233, types B and C, pls. 102-103; Higgins 1967, 26 (pls. 10a.e, 11a), 49 (fig. 15); Böhm 1990, 70-99. Sometimes the background around the figure was cut away so that the effect is that of a flat figurine: e.g., Higgins 1967, pl. 10d; Stillwell 1952, 56; Payne et al. 1940, 233-234 nos. 192-193, pl. 103 (plaques with cut away and preserved background could be made in the same mould).
- <sup>59</sup> Boardman 1980, 76 fig. 72; Böhm 1990, 101-102 (pl. 25e-f) expresses some doubts whether the plaque is a Syrian import or a Greek product.
- <sup>60</sup> Higgins 1967, 28; Boardman 1980, 76 fig. 74; Carter 1985, 5. According to one theory, the new technique was taught to Cretans by resident Oriental craftsmen: Coldstream 1977, 289; Böhm 1990, 142; Miller-Ammerman 1991, 223-224.
- <sup>61</sup> Boardman 1961, 108-117; Higgins 1967, 27-28; Payne et al. 1940, 230-231 type A, pl. 102.
- <sup>62</sup> Payne et al. 1940, 230 no. 179 (pl. 102).
- <sup>63</sup> Although the Greek word for mould was *typos*, the same word was sometimes also used to denote, first, the prototype from which the mould was made (Neutsch 1952, 3) and, second, the relief plaque itself (Roux 1961; Aleshire 1989, 157).
- <sup>64</sup> Nicholls 1952, 220. Occasionally the prototype (referred to also as archetype or patris) could be of wax or raw clay: Higgins 1967, 2. Terracotta moulds were also taken from objects of other material, like wood, stone, metal or ivory: Higgins 1967, 2. A seventh-century BC terracotta plaque from Afrati, Crete, decorated in very low relief, was supposedly cast in a metal or stone mould used to manufacture metal reliefs: Despinis 1966, 37. It is more likely, however, that it was cast in a terracotta mould, itself having been taken from a metal relief.
- <sup>65</sup> Higgins 1967, 2; Nicholls about the crude plaques in the Cretan collection (reported in Boardman 1961, 109 n. 6); Salapata 1992, 192.
- <sup>66</sup> Neutsch 1952, 3. The use of plaster moulds began in the Late Classical period: cf. Barr 1996, 134. Züchner (1950-1951, 203) revives the old opinion of Hauser that the whole group of the 'Melian' reliefs was made in wooden moulds, cut out in intaglio. See, however, Nicholls' objection (1952, 222 n. 36) that the intaglio work was done on clay moulds taken from clay prototypes. Cf. Jacobsthal 1931, 104. Christou (1964, 188) suggested that the moulds for the figures on the Lakonian relief amphoras could have been made of either clay or wood.
- <sup>67</sup> See, for example, Stillwell 1952, 87-88 no. 1 (pl. 29.1); Robinson 1933, 94. See also n. 57.
- <sup>68</sup> The verb used for this action was *emballein*: Dio Chrys. 60. 9, quoted by Neutsch 1952, 7 n. 1. The resulting moulded figure was called *typōma* or *apotypōma*, while the whole process *typōsis*: LSJ s.v.v. But see n. 63.
- <sup>69</sup> See also a relief from the cave of Lera: Guest-Papamanoli and Lambraki 1976, 215 no. A15 (pl. 45); two Archaic plaques from Crete: Boardman 1961, 110 no. 499, 117 no. 508; cf. a 'Melian' relief in the Louvre: Shefton 1958, 31, fig. 2; some Lokrian plaques: Schinko 1973, 72 no. 1143, 73 no. 1144, 82 no. 1329.
- <sup>70</sup> Rizza 1967-1968, 270 nos. 39a, 42 (figs. 5, 6); Bouzek 1974, 152; Davidson 1952, 41 no. 218 (pl. 17); Jacobsthal 1931, 101-102, pl. 65a and nos. 104, 83; Boardman 1954, 191, n. 89. Thompson (1963, 19) assumes that the rider plaques from Troy were placed on a board to dry because their backs are flat; she does not, however, record traces of wood patterns. It is more plausible to assume that the back was flattened while the plaque was still in the mould, since, in order for it to become flat after moulding, the plaque would have to be pressed against a surface, an action that would have distorted the moulded side. Thompson later (p. 109) distinguishes between two groups, one with finger marks on the back, the other with traces of a scraping tool. An interesting fanlike pattern of ridges has been observed at the back of many 'Melian' reliefs: Richter 1932, 45, fig. 2; Shefton 1958, 29 fig. 1 and 35 figs. 3-4; Graham 1958, pl. 83, fig. 4; Jacobsthal 1931, 102, pl. 64a-b. Jacobsthal considered these ridges the result of an uneven wooden scraper. Richter, however, convincingly showed that these ridges are due to the removal of the excess clay with the help of a string pulled in rotary motion against the margins of the mould, which caused impurities to scrape the surface in a circular design. Cf. Davidson 1952, 40 no. 212 (pl. 15); Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 202, fig. 249, where, on the contrary, it is assumed that a board or plaque with straight margins was pressed against the mould.
- <sup>71</sup> Jacobsthal 1931, 102; Miller 1983, 82. Cf. Williams 1976, where the impressions noticed on the back of reliefs are fully described and illustrated; Boardman 1961, 112-13; Salapata 1992, 210-212. For the study of craftsmen fingerprints in general, see Åström and Eriksson 1980; Sjöquist and Åström 1991; Dzierzykray-Rogalsky and Grzeszyk 1991.
- <sup>72</sup> E.g., Salapata 1992, pl. 68b-c. The same technique was used in the construction of the large Lakonian relief amphoras dated to the seventh and sixth centuries BC; the figures were made in moulds and later applied to the body of the vase, perhaps through a dark coloured material discerned at the back of some detached figures: Christou 1964, 185-187.
- <sup>73</sup> Higgins 1954, 4. The clay, however, must have been still very pliant to prevent cracks: see Nicholls 1952, 223 n. 42.
- <sup>74</sup> Jastrow 1941, esp. 2-4. Most of the shrinkage is caused by the evaporation of moisture during drying: Nicholls 1952, 220, n. 21; Neutsch 1952, 6; Jastrow 1941, 2-3.
- <sup>75</sup> Salapata 1992, 215-217. On the Lokrian plaques colours were applied either on a white wash or on a thin layer of refined clay: Schinko 1973, 68-69, n. 22; Higgins 1967, 4.
- <sup>76</sup> Nicholls 1952, passim, who estimated (p. 219 n. 16) that several thousand examples could be produced from a single prototype.
- <sup>77</sup> Fridh-Haneson 1983, 25; Peppas-Papaioannou 1987-1988, 265; Kingsley 1981, 44-45; Nicholls 1952, 223; Jacobsthal 1931, 103 (for the difference in sharpness among 'Melian' reliefs from the same mould) and 104 (for the difference in sharpness occurring even on the same relief - due, presumably, to the uneven exercise of pressure during moulding).
- <sup>78</sup> Muller 1994, 184.
- <sup>79</sup> Nicholls 1952, 220: the prototype and first generation moulds were usually created by the same person and at about the same time.
- <sup>80</sup> Nicholls 1952, 221-223. Cf. Tarentine moulds: Kingsley 1981, 45; Tarentine Dioskouroi plaques: Stefanelli 1977, 388; Lokrian plaques: Zancani-Montuoro 1954, 72-73, 104.

- <sup>81</sup> Nicholls 1952, 223-224; Barra-Bagnasco 1986, 23; Fridh-Haneson 1983, 23. Of course, near-identical plaques could also be produced from two similar prototypes created at the same time: Fridh-Haneson 1983, 56-58; Nicholls 1982, 90. Cf. Christou 1964, 225.
- <sup>82</sup> Nicholls 1952, 219-220; Jastrow 1941.
- <sup>83</sup> Nicholls 1952, 220 n. 21. The degree of shrinkage can range from 10 to 21 percent, with an average around 15 percent: Bescow 1979. Jastrow (1941, 3) assigns to two successive generations pieces with around 20 percent difference; Bonghi-Jovino (1965, 17-18), although she prefers a shrinkage of around 17 percent, observes that some pieces have no more than 10 percent difference; Fridh-Haneson (1983, 24) suggests that divergences of more than 10-12 percent indicate two successive generations. For a statistical analysis of the rate of shrinkage of terracotta antefixes from Satricum, see Knoop 1988.
- <sup>84</sup> Nicholls 1952, 220; Zancani-Montuoro 1954, 72.
- <sup>85</sup> Salapata 1992, 198 (mould series VII.a.2.2.2.3).
- <sup>86</sup> Cf. Jastrow 1941, 2, 5; Kingsley 1977, 83-84.
- <sup>87</sup> See, e.g., the Voidokilia rider plaques where the foot of the rider is shown only on examples of later generations: Peppa-Papaioannou 1987-1988, 264.
- <sup>88</sup> E.g., Lakonia: Salapata 1992, 223-224; Voidokilia: Peppa-Papaioannou 1987-1988, 265; Messene: Themelis 1998. Cf. the terracottas from Morgantina: Bell 1981, 3-4, 116. Frequently the terracotta votives dedicated in a sanctuary were made in workshops established in its vicinity: Higgins 1967, lii.
- <sup>89</sup> CVA Munich 4, pl. 191.1-2. Same youth: Berndorf 1868, 15, 22, pl. IX; two different youths: Valavanis 1991, 493. For another example see Van Straten 1992, 264.
- <sup>90</sup> E.g., Voidokilia: Korres 1988; Antonaccio 1995, 80-81, 140-143. Menidi: Wolters 1899, 111, 121; Antonaccio 1995, 104-109. A fourth-century BC fragmentary plaque from a Kerameikos grave was not found among the funerary offerings but in the filling of the grave: Knigge 1966, 125, pl. 76.7. Three 'Melian' reliefs have been found in graves, but, since they may have been attachments on chests (see above n. 10), they should not definitely be considered independent plaques: Jacobsthal 1931, 115; Orsi 1912, 9-10, fig. 8; Orsi 1913, 23-25. Isolated Lokrian plaques reportedly came from graves and houses: Prückner 1968, 1, n. 6; Zancani-Montuoro 1961, 675; Miller 1983, 201 and ns. 44-45; Orsi 1913, 23-25. They are nonetheless overshadowed by the thousands found in sanctuary deposits in Lokroi and other sites of Magna Graecia and Sicily (Medma, Hipponion, Selinous, and Syracuse).
- <sup>91</sup> Robinson 1933, 94-95 nos. 373-374 (pls. 46-47). A plaque found in a domestic context at Toroni could have been part of a foundation deposit: Papadopoulos 2000, 417-418.
- <sup>92</sup> Homann-Wedeking 1950, 189. But see the problematic context of some plaques from Troy: Papadopoulos 2000, 419.
- <sup>93</sup> Lembessi 1985, 80.
- <sup>94</sup> Lembessi 1976, 63-64; Lembessi 1985, 81. See, for example, the stucco painted plaque found at the Mycenae cult center: Rehak 1984.
- <sup>95</sup> Cf. Rouse 1902, 80; Lembessi 1985, 188.
- <sup>96</sup> Exceptionally, a class of tiny, so-called ticket plaques represent only one object in paint or painted relief, perhaps to avoid technical difficulties involved in making figurines in the round; e.g., Guggisberg 1988a, 218, 233, fig. 103 (lyre); Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 24, 27, 72, 83 and pl. 15.4 (pig and boar).
- <sup>97</sup> Rouse (1902, 80 n. 3) assumes that these sanctuaries were specifically hero shrines.
- <sup>98</sup> The worship of a hero in a place of divine cult was a relatively common practice: e.g., Hyakinthos in the sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaos and Hippolytos in the sanctuary of Aphrodite to the southwest of the Athenian Akropolis. In particular, the tombs of heroes from the Trojan War were often located in sanctuaries of Olympian gods: Abramson 1978, 82.
- <sup>99</sup> For particular types of terracotta relief plaques reserved for heroes in Lakonia, see Salapata 1993, 194.
- <sup>100</sup> E.g., in the sanctuary at Eloro, Sicily, some figurines were found *in situ*, standing upright on a low bench against the outer wall of a room and attached with plaster, which implies at least a semi-permanent display: Van Buren 1966, 357-359, pl. 87.1; Alroth 1988, fig. 3. At Kalapodi in Phokis votives were found on an offering table in front of the altar of a temporary cult building of the fifth century BC (AA 1980, 38-112 at pp. 89-99, figs. 71-72). A terracotta bull was found on an altar at Kommos, Crete: Shaw 1978, 142-145, pls. 40-41. See also Simon 1986, 173 n. 17.
- <sup>101</sup> Some Hellenistic inscriptions describe the arrangement of votives in sanctuaries but generally record only those in precious materials; they may also contain regulations on the placement of votives: Sokolowski 1969, no. 43; Sokolowski 1962, nos. 43, 107, 123; Rouse 1902, 343 ns. 7-8; Van Straten 1992, 271-272; Aleshire 1989 and Aleshire 1991, 41-46. An examination of the exhibition and placement of offerings in sanctuaries can be found in *DarSag* 378-379, s.v. *donarium* (T. Homolle); see, more recently, Alroth 1988, 195-203.
- <sup>102</sup> Brulotte 1994, 261-320; Van Straten 1992, 248-254; Amandry 1984, 420-421, 423 (altar). Schrader and Wiegand 1904, 176-177 fig. 169 (bench). Siganiidou 1983, 62, pl. 76a-b (shelves). On a fifth-century BC calyx krater with a scene of sacrifice to Hermes three objects are shown on a wall: two plaques with painted figures on each side of a shelf, which is attached to the wall with two nails; on the shelf stands the figurine of a herm, probably of terracotta. Both shelf and figurine are shown in profile: CB 3, 75 no. 165, suppl. pl. 24. For placement on the cult statue, see Aleshire 1989, 220 and here p. 26.
- <sup>103</sup> Amandry 1984, 423; Van Buren 1966, 358.
- <sup>104</sup> For walls as the preferred spot for offerings, see Pliny *NH* 38. 43. 5-6; nails could be driven on mudbrick walls or wooden frames: Brulotte 1994, 263-268. Pausanias (2. 10. 3) saw small figures hanging from the roof or ceiling of the Asklepieion at Sikyon. The offerings in the Asklepios temple at Athens are described in a third-century BC inscription (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1534a) as being on the rafters, ridge pole, and lower part of the walls: Aleshire 1989, 218-220.
- <sup>105</sup> Nilsson 1940, 81; Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 137; Hom. *Od.* 3.274; *Anth. Pal.* 6.106; 6.163. In Pl. *Phd.* 230B, Socrates recognizes the area of a tall plane tree and a spring as a sanctuary of the Nymphs and Acheloos from the offerings (*korōn te kai agalmatōn*) hung from the tree or placed by the spring: Alroth 1988, 195 n. 4. Rouse (1902, 13) reports that in relatively modern times next to Christian chapels there were sometimes trees on whose branches faithful worshippers hung rags.
- <sup>106</sup> Benton 1938-1939, 45; Guest-Papamanoli and Lambraki 1976, 232.
- <sup>107</sup> Rouse 1902, 232.



- <sup>108</sup> Sokolowski 1962, no. 123.
- <sup>109</sup> Rouse 1902, 174-175; Benndorf 1868, 16.
- <sup>110</sup> The plaque held in the hand of a statue of a boy at Olympia (Pliny *NH* 34.59) must have been part of the sculptural picture.
- <sup>111</sup> *Supp.* 463-465; Boardman 1954, 188 and n. 55.
- <sup>112</sup> Van Straten 1992, 254.
- <sup>113</sup> Neutsch 1968, 219-220.
- <sup>114</sup> Van Straten 1992, 263.
- <sup>115</sup> British Museum E 494: Smith 1888, 5, pl. 1; Korres 1971, 240 and n. 4 with bibliography.
- <sup>116</sup> Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 152; Andronikos 1984, 102-103, figs. 58-59. Together with the plaque, garlands are tied around the tree trunk.
- <sup>117</sup> Lembessi 1985, 74; Zanker 1965, 98-99; Van Straten 1992, 264. See examples in Benndorf 1868, 13, n. 56; Boardman 1954, 187 n. 41; Korres 1971, 241-242. In view of these vase paintings and the finds from the sanctuary of Hermes at Kato Symi, Lembessi speculates that the hanging of offerings from trees was particularly associated with Hermes.
- <sup>118</sup> Harrison 1890, 130, fig. 26. Boardman 1954, 187-188, n. 42.
- <sup>119</sup> Bucarest National Museum 03207: CVA Bucarest pl. 32. 1; Van Straten 1992, 263-264.
- <sup>120</sup> Alroth 1988, 196, fig. 1. Two figurines lie on the floor of the fountain house. Plaque and figurines were probably dedicated to the nymph or nymphs of the spring.
- <sup>121</sup> Van Straten 1992, 259. See also the vase painting with two plaques and a shelf on a wall (above n. 102).
- <sup>122</sup> Paoletti 1982, 379, pl. 96.1. On Selinountian coins of the end of the fifth century BC, a votive plaque is shown presumably attached to the wall of a sanctuary: Rizzo 1939, 59.
- <sup>123</sup> Cambitoglou 1981, 91 (no. 289), fig. 49.
- <sup>124</sup> Cambitoglou 1981, 82.
- <sup>125</sup> Svoronos 1908-1937, 536, figs. 243-244 (from the Peiraeus Asklepieion); Deubner 1951; Van Straten 1992, 259-260.
- <sup>126</sup> Contrast Carroll-Spillecke (1985, 81), who assumes that these plaques could have been mounted on pillars added in paint.
- <sup>127</sup> E.g., Stillwell 1952, 140-141, 154-155, 160 and pls. 27, 30, 34; Theochares 1966, 252 and pl. 243; Callaghan 1978, esp. 21-29 and pl. 9; Peppas-Papaioannou 1987-1988; Barr 1996; Themelis 1998, 162-165; Salapata 1992, 295-327 with further references. For a painted rider plaque from Penteskoufia, see Furtwängler 1908, no. 27, pl. 24; Hausmann 1960, 18, Fig. 7 (cf. Aeneas Tacticus' *pinakion heroikon*, above p. 20). Panels shown mounted on pillars (Van Straten 1992, 255-259) do not represent plaques but stone reliefs.
- <sup>128</sup> CVA Naples 1, pl. 13 (von Bothmer). The plaque could not have been of stone, since the column is too slim to have supported much weight. Cf. Athens National Museum 12491; Metzger 1965, 116 no. 35, pl. XLVIII.2; Van Straten 1992, 262-263.
- <sup>129</sup> Attic red-figure kylix from around 490-80 BC: ARV<sup>2</sup> 400. 1 (1); Korres 1971, pl. 52 with bibliography in p. 234 n. 1.
- <sup>130</sup> Samples or models: Gerhard 1843, 22. Apotropaics: F. Hauser in *FR* 3, 85-86; Schiering 1964, 244. Votives in a private shrine: Panofka 1843, 12. Votives to the smith god: Schefold 1959, 73.
- <sup>131</sup> Simon 1969, 225; Korres 1971, 236-239.
- <sup>132</sup> Boardman 1954, 188; Mattusch 1980, 436, n. 13. The suspension of plaques from a pair of horns may have religious connotations: on a fifth-century BC pelike depicting a man setting up a herm in front of an altar, a plaque is shown presumably suspended from a pair of horns: CB 3, 74-75 no. 164, pl. 96.
- <sup>133</sup> Benndorf (1868, 14) assumes that such pictures represent solely painted terracotta plaques; Boardman (1954, mainly p. 188) disagrees and regards all of them as wooden. I would disagree with the latter's arguments, first, that close counterparts of the figures depicted on them are lacking in terracotta due to the fact that they are also lacking in wood; and second, that, despite representations on South Italian vases, no solely painted terracotta plaques have been found in the West, since this is an argument *ex silentio*. One should always bear in mind artistic conventions and the limitations of space in which to depict such small objects.
- <sup>134</sup> Lembessi 1985, 72-73.
- <sup>135</sup> Unfortunately, in many cases the exact findspot of plaques is not specified by the excavators.
- <sup>136</sup> Schilardi 1988, 48 (Postscript II-October 1987).
- <sup>137</sup> Philios 1885, n. 2.
- <sup>138</sup> Philios 1888, 196-198, pl. 12.2. The signs of burning on the plaque fragments suggested to the excavator that the plaque had been deposited on top of the altar.
- <sup>139</sup> Callaghan 1978, 28. See also Themelis 1998, 160 on some plaques found *in situ* at Messene.
- <sup>140</sup> Brulotte 1994, 279-280, fig. 31; cf. Brulotte 1994, 280-281, fig. 32.
- <sup>141</sup> But contrast an Archaic painted fragmentary plaque from the Athenian Akropolis with a hole pierced after firing: Graef and Langlotz 1925, 246 no. 2527 (pl. 104); Boardman 1954, 192.
- <sup>142</sup> E.g., Waldstein 1905, 48 no. 9, pl. XLIX; Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 164, 206 no. 80 pl. XIV; Lembessi 1985, 69, 70 n. 68 (B7 pl. 24).
- <sup>143</sup> See a plaque from Gortyn: Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 206 no. 210a (pl. XXXII).
- <sup>144</sup> In several cases the coroplast avoided making holes on the figures, preferring the background: Jacobsthal 1931, 107.
- <sup>145</sup> Very rarely the holes could be rectangular; see, e.g., Mollard-Besques 1954, 77 no. B543 (pl. L); Zancani-Montuoro 1954, pl. XXIII.
- <sup>146</sup> See, e.g., Theochares 1966, pl. 243; Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 177 nos. 172-173 (pl. XXVII), 192-193 no. 320 (pl. XLIII). Boardman (1954, 192) reports that in the case of thick plaques the holes may have been cut from both sides. Because of the inconsistency in the way plaques were pierced, I do not find the direction of piercing a reliable method to determine which the front side is, as Guggisberg (1988b, 536, n. 5) does.
- <sup>147</sup> Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 185 no. 229 (pl. XXXIV) (the left hole at least has been pierced from back to front, with the excess clay flattened); Davidson 1952, 40 no. 212 (pl. 15).
- <sup>148</sup> Jacobsthal 1931, 108, 118, no. 100; Graham 1958, 317 on some 'Melian' reliefs. Zancani-Montuoro (1954, 87, n. 1) has concluded that clay plaques larger than ca. 0.30 m could not have been suspended without danger of breaking.
- <sup>149</sup> For thongs see above p. 26 and n. 118. Metal suspension rings are preserved on some plaques from Mesembria: Ninou n.d. 104 no. 437, 106 no. 453, pl. 62; and on a 'cut-out' relief from Kato Symi: Lembessi 1985, 69, 70 n. 68 (B7 pl. 24).
- <sup>150</sup> Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, pl. XXVII no. 170; Furtwängler 1891, pl. 7 no. 28; Furtwängler 1908, pl. 23 no. 17, pl. 24 nos. 3, 8, pl. 30 no. 21.



- <sup>151</sup> Furtwängler 1891, pl. 8 no. 14 and Furtwängler 1908, pl. 30 no. 13. On the Andros relief plaque (above p. 27) the two circular impressions under the two lower corners of the depicted plaque may represent nails; if so, this convention would be used so that the nails, which would be expected to be on the plaque, would not obscure the scene, although perhaps the depiction was meant to show that the plaque was supported by the overlapping of the nailheads.
- <sup>152</sup> Boardman 1956, 22-23 no. Akr. 1042; Jacobsthal 1931, 108. Cf. parts of iron nails preserved on one of the 'single' painted funerary plaques: Boardman 1955, 54. However, a plaque from Corinth with one hole preserved in one corner can safely be assumed to have hung free, since both sides bear a painted scene: Stillwell and Benson 1984, 244 no. 1349, pls. 56, 114. Benndorf (1868, 16) expresses doubts that such unimportant offerings would have been nailed on the fine marble walls of sanctuary buildings, such as those on the Athenian Akropolis.
- <sup>153</sup> On a plaque from Corinth there are scratches around the hole on the right edge created from the nail head: Stillwell and Benson 1984, 240 no. 1325, pls. 55, 112. On another from Brauron there are signs of wear from a nail inside the hole in the upper right corner: Kahil 1983, 233 fig. 15.4. A plaque from Argos seems to have a similar mark (from a nail?) on one of two holes: Guggisberg 1988b, 539, fig. 1 no. 113.
- <sup>154</sup> Philios 1888, 198, pl. 12.2.
- <sup>155</sup> Brouskari 1974, 41-42, figs. 59, 65; Hutton 1897, 309-310, fig. 65.
- <sup>156</sup> Karouzou 1981, 304-306, figs. 1-2 (ca. 540 BC); Furtwängler 1891, pl. 7 no. 25. Cf. also a plaque from Brauron with one hole in the upper right corner and one in the middle of the lower edge; another hole can be restored in the missing upper left corner: Themelis 1971, 79, fig. 13.
- <sup>157</sup> Davidson 1952, 40 no. 212, pls. 15-16; Boardman 1954, 192, n. 105; Brulotte 1994, 280.
- <sup>158</sup> See an Archaic painted plaque from Old Smyrna: Boardman 1954, 199; now published in Akurgal 1987, pl. 3c.
- <sup>159</sup> Furtwängler 1908, pl. 29 nos. 1, 4. It is noticeable that the Penteskoufia plaques present a large variety in the positioning of the holes. In addition to the above-cited methods, there is another with two holes in top centre and one at least in the left edge (Furtwängler 1908, pl. 23 no. 1).
- <sup>160</sup> Corinth: Newhall 1931, 21; Rouse 1902, 80. Eleusis: Philios 1885, 178-179 and n. 2, pls. 9.12, 12. Athens: Graef and Langlotz 1925, 242-243, nos. 2493-2498. See also the Geometric plaque with the long stem (above n. 40).
- <sup>161</sup> Geagan 1970, 32; Boardman 1954, 192; Rouse 1902, 80. A painted plaque from the Athenian Akropolis is a different case: the artist has made at the back a 'working drawing' of the figure of Athena which he later drew on the front side: Boardman 1956, 20, fig. 1b, pls. II.1, I.2.
- <sup>162</sup> Furtwängler 1885, 47; Pfuhl 1923, 222; Boardman 1954, 192.
- <sup>163</sup> Boardman 1954, 192-193.
- <sup>164</sup> Boardman 1954, 192; Stefanelli 1977, 388-389 and n. 53, who, however, restricts this method only to the painted relief plaques; her arguments for the differentiation between solely painted and painted relief plaques are not convincing. A long painted plaque from the Corycian Cave bearing three holes on the upper edge may have been attached to a wooden background with nails: Jacquemin 1984, 96-98.
- <sup>165</sup> Boardman 1954, 191; Lembessi 1985, 71-73, 79.
- <sup>166</sup> See the Mesembria plaque in Ninou n.d. pl. 60.
- <sup>167</sup> Common in dedications to Asklepios; see Aleshire 1989, 232, 234-35: e.g., IG II2 1534a (inventory IV) line 90: *typos katamaktos pros pinakio*; line 96: *ous katama[kton] pros s[an]idiō* (Van Straten 1981, 79-80, 82 n. 80, 111). Aleshire (1989, 234) suggested that the expression '*pros pinakio*' refers to a relief attached to a plaque, while the slightly different '*em pinakio*' denotes a relief plaque.
- <sup>168</sup> Lembessi 1985, 71-73, 79 on the 'cut-out' reliefs from Kato Symi.
- <sup>169</sup> Zancani-Montuoro 1961, 676; see, e.g., Quagliati 1908, 171, figs. 24-25. Zancani-Montuoro also comments on the similarity of the figures on the terracotta plaques to metal examples, suspecting that the same craftsmen could have been responsible for both.
- <sup>170</sup> Pasquier 1980, 202, fig. 5. Cf. two plaques from Lato, each with one hole off-centre: Demargne 1929, pls. XXX.1-2.
- <sup>171</sup> Stefanelli 1977, 388-389, n. 53. Cf. Jacobsthal 1931, 108 on the 'Melian' reliefs. Contrast the Geometric plaque with the long stem (above n. 40), where the hole falls a little to the left of the axis; since it is painted on both sides, it must have hung free, even if in a slightly crooked position. Graham (1958, 317-318) got around the problem of the non-centred holes in 'Melian' reliefs by assuming that, in addition to the string passing through the holes, two nails placed against the moulding along the lower edge of many examples supported them from below; the plaques would thus be maintained in a horizontal position. He obviously takes up Jacobsthal's point regarding the way in which reliefs lacking holes could be attached.
- <sup>172</sup> Even the carefully made Lokrian plaques did not receive an equally competent treatment regarding the holes: Prückner 1968, pls. 7.6, 10.3, where the two holes on the top, although very close to each other, are not on the same level.
- <sup>173</sup> Boardman 1955, 54 n. 20.
- <sup>174</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>175</sup> Salapata 1992, 220-221. See also a small relief plaque from Penteskoufia representing a lion: it has two holes in the top centre, the left one fully pierced, the right one with only the circular impression of a reed which was not pushed through completely: Furtwängler 1908, pl. 29 (no. 20); cf. the small round plaques from Gortyn (above n. 15) and a small 'ticket' plaque from the Athenian Agora: Boardman 1954, 192, 198.
- <sup>176</sup> E.g., no plaque from the 'multiple figures' or the 'standing couple' is equipped with holes, while all examples of mould series VII.a.1.1.18 have holes: Salapata 1992, 219.
- <sup>177</sup> E.g., in mould series VII.a.2.2.2.3, one example from the second generation has no holes, while another has two, and plaques of the third, fourth, and fifth generation have no holes at all: Salapata 1992, 219-220. Similar variations have been noticed in plaques from Aigina (Margreiter 1988, 23 nos. 136-137, pl. 8), terracottas from Gortyn (Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 204 nos. 113a-b, pl. XIX), and protomes from Lokroi (Barra-Bagnasco 1986, 121).
- <sup>178</sup> It is interesting to note here that similar struts were used, already in the sixth century BC, for some 'pappades' figurines from Boiotia and elsewhere. These are schematic figures with flat bodies bent into a seated position and supported behind by one or sometimes two props, obviously meant to be the rear leg(s) of the chair: Ure 1934, 60 no. 126.125 (pl. XIV); Higgins 1967,

- 50, 48 and pl. 20 D.F.
- <sup>179</sup> Lakonia: Salapata 1992, 222-223; Voidokilia: Peppa Papaioannou 1987-1988, 266, 268-269 and figs. 6-9; Korres 1985, 165, who attributes the use of the support leg to a local trait, while, as it appears from the other examples, this is a characteristic feature of the type of plaques representing a reclining figure; Messene: Themelis 1998, 170; Corinth: Davidson 1942, 109 nos. 5-6; Taras: Kingsley 1976, 6, figs. 4, 7; Higgins 1954, 336. Exceptionally, one Tarentine relief is equipped with two struts at the back (Higgins 1967, pl. 39A), while another is equipped with a vertical strut attached to the back surface at the top and at intervals by three pads of clay (Higgins 1954, 344 no. 1266, pl. 173). Several of the Tarentine reclining figures are technically between plaques and figurines, since they have an additional piece of clay attached to the back leaving an opening at the bottom, which served both as support and as vent hole: Robinson 1906, 168; Paribeni 1964, 112-113.
- <sup>180</sup> Stillwell 1952, 155, 160 no. 1, pl. 34.
- <sup>181</sup> E.g., Salapata 1992, pl. 34c, f. Cf. Tarentine fourth-century plaques (Kingsley 1977, 78, n. 41) and a large mould for such figurine-plaques (Neutsch 1961, 152 n. 6, pls. 62.1, 63, 65). Cf. also some exceptional Tarentine figurine-plaques depicting the Dioskouroi: the lower part widens and turns on both sides towards the back thus enabling the relief to stand; at the same time, however, these figurine-plaques are equipped with suspension holes: Stefanelli 1977, 388-389. Mixed classes, such as figurines treated like reliefs, or plaques which can stand like figurines, are characteristic of the fourth century BC and later: Dentzer 1982, 155.
- <sup>182</sup> Guest-Papamanoli and Lambraki 1976, 232-233, pl. 49 no. RL1 (one hole), no. RL4 (two holes). Cf. the reconstruction proposed for some figurines from Myrina equipped with three horizontal loops at the back: Pottier 1886, 87.
- <sup>183</sup> Kalligas 1980, 26, fig. 19.
- <sup>184</sup> E.g., all the rider plaques from Troy lack holes.
- <sup>185</sup> Cf. Barra-Bagnasco 1986, 142 speaking about protomes from Lokroi and Selinous, many of which are without holes. Benndorf (1868, 16) believes that plaques without holes could also be inserted in wall niches. Several niches are carved in cave sanctuaries (e.g., the cave of Pan on the Akropolis: Kavvadias 1897, 6-8), but were meant mostly for marble reliefs. On *bothroi* see Lowe 1978, 142-144; Hackens 1963, 85-88.
- <sup>186</sup> See an Athenian inscription authorising the priest to remove plaques that blocked the cult image from view: Sokolowski 1969, no. 43. Removed offerings could also just be scattered over a certain area of the *temenos*: Simon 1986, 172.
- <sup>187</sup> Cf. Themelis 1998, 160.
- <sup>188</sup> Higgins 1954, 8; Hackens 1963, 92-93; Lowe 1978, 141; Bonghi-Jovino 1976, 5.
- <sup>189</sup> With regard to modern scholarly terminology, Hackens 1963, 74-84, 97 has pointed out the often imprecise use of the terms referring to such deposits and has attempted to differentiate those deposits from superficially similar ones. He established that the Latin term 'favissa', so often employed by scholars to designate votive deposits in general, should be used only for a deposit receptacle which was originally used to contain water, such as a well or cistern. Cf. Simon 1986, 173.
- <sup>190</sup> Lowe 1978, 141; e.g., Tziafalias 1973-1974; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1963, 65, pl. 81.
- <sup>191</sup> See a series of circular pits (diam: 3 m, depth: ca. 4 m) from Taras ('stipe della Masseria Carmine') with figurines placed in layers: Stazio 1964, 161. For a rectangular pit see Lechat 1891, 9.
- <sup>192</sup> E.g., Zanotti-Bianco (1937, 244, fig. 6) reports that to the southwest of the great temple in the Heraion at Foce del Sele more than 1,000 terracottas were placed in five 'loculi' (cists) made of slabs.
- <sup>193</sup> See the deposit of the Lokrian plaques at Lokroi: Orsi 1909, 415; Quagliati 1908, 136. For a horseshoe-shaped pit constructed from large stones, see BCH 82 (1958) 794-96 (Grigori Korfi, Crete).
- <sup>194</sup> E.g., in the stelai deposit at Corinth, skyphoi were placed inside one another, while miniature vases and figurines filled the interstices: Newhall 1931, 2; cf. Stillwell 1948, 23-53. In the deposit created during the fourth-century BC reconstruction of the Athena sanctuary in Emporio, Chios, several offerings were carefully stacked before burial; e.g., the base of a stone statuette was found inside the lower part of a jar: Boardman 1967, 17. An exceptional kind of deposit has been discovered in the sanctuary of Glaukos at Knossos: a series of pots representing four hundred years had been carefully stacked upside down together with ash in a cabinet probably of wood inside a cult room: Callaghan 1978, 27.
- <sup>195</sup> Lowe 1978, 142; Edlund 1987, 135; Cartledge 1979, 360.
- <sup>196</sup> Salapata 1992, 69-73 with further examples. For clusters of objects of similar types reflecting their pattern of storage in a temple, see more recently Gebhard 1998. For the tendency of offerings to be arranged according to types in the Athenian Asklepieion, see Aleshire 1991, 45.
- <sup>197</sup> Amandry 1984, 421; Fitzhardinge 1980, 45.
- <sup>198</sup> E.g., Lechat 1891, 10; Manfredini 1969, 75; Forster 1904-1905, 244.
- <sup>199</sup> Such a practice is referred to in CIG 1.1570.
- <sup>200</sup> Higgins 1954, 8; Rouse 1902, 346; see the deposit from Masseria Carmine in Taras (above n. 191), in which the terracottas were found intact: Kingsley 1979, 205.
- <sup>201</sup> E.g., in the deposit where most of the Lokrian plaques were found it was observed that the large objects and those made of glass were broken (Orsi 1909, 417), while the small protomes were often complete or almost complete (Barra-Bagnasco 1986, 109).
- <sup>202</sup> Such as humidity, acidity, tree roots: Lechat 1891, 10.
- <sup>203</sup> Salapata 1993, 193.

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## The Faliscan Red-Figured Stamnos of Ghent University

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Although not well known, the archaeological collection of Ghent University (Belgium) is very valuable. For a while this collection was exhibited in the precinct of the university. A few years ago, however, the entire collection was removed to the university's depot, waiting for a part of the collection to be exhibited in *Het Pand* in Ghent. In 2002 the museum *Het Pand* opened its doors and it is there that the larger part of the collection is displayed nowadays. There too one can admire the remarkable Faliscan stamnos, which Ghent University holds in its possession.

Stamnos, type A; inv. nr. 16; inv. nr. J. Maertens de Noordhout 121/17. Faliscan production. Ht. 29.1 cm,<sup>1</sup> width across handles 30.8 cm; diam. shoulder 25.6 cm; diam. foot 12.4 cm; diam. lip 15.5 cm. Colour and lip reconstructed. Shoulder damaged. Body shows several cracks.

Willem I, king of The Netherlands, would have bestowed this red-figured stamnos on the university, together with the rest of the antique collection, in 1825. The catalogue, which classifies the collection of Ghent University and was drawn up by J. Maertens de Noordhout in 1938, records colonel Bernard Eugène Antoine Rottiers (1771-1857) to have brought the pieces with him from Rhodes.<sup>2</sup> However, Rottiers' journey to Rhodes terminated in September 1826. In all likelihood, the collection was indeed brought together by the Belgian colonel Rottiers during one of his travels in the Mediterranean area. After all he was the main importer of antiquities in The Netherlands. The Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden in Leiden (The Netherlands) also bought several antiquities from him. F.L. Bastet examined the origin of the collection of the Leiden museum and studied Rottiers' concerns and journeys.<sup>3</sup> Probably the collection of antique vases was gathered during Rottiers' travels in the early twenties. In 1819 Rottiers honourably retired from the army and set out on a travel from Tiflis (Georgia) - where he was stationed - through the Mediterranean. From Georgia he went on to Turkey (Constantinople)<sup>4</sup> and Athens, where he attended excavations in Eleusis and Axione. After a stay in Italy in 1820 (Bari, Naples, Rome), he eventually returned

home.<sup>5</sup> Rottiers probably bought the stamnos in Naples or Rome. The actual origin of the stamnos, however, remains unclear.

The only way to discover the origins of the stamnos seems to be that of typological and stylistic research. This, however, is not an easy matter. First, the stamnos has been restored, which interferes with a typological analysis. Second, the decoration of the stamnos is in a class of its own. Denise Callipolitis-Feytmans<sup>6</sup> first studied the stamnos in 1953. She corroborated the probable Faliscan origins of the stamnos, but acknowledged that no parallels are known. There are, however, several indications that allow us to trace back the origins of the stamnos of Ghent to the Faliscan production. In 1947 John D. Beazley was the first to pay special attention to the Etruscan red-figured ceramics in his *Etruscan Vase-Painting*.<sup>7</sup> In this work Beazley achieved a summary in which the late-Faliscan production was classified under the 'Fluid Group'. Mario Del Chiaro was able to attribute several vases, which before had been part of the Fluid Group, to the production centre of Caere on the basis of a comparative study of the



Fig. 1. CT-scan stamnos n° 16 of Ghent University.



Fig. 2. *Stamnos n° 16 of Ghent University, side A left.*



Fig. 3. *Stamnos n° 16 of Ghent University, side A right.*

Genucilia Group.<sup>8</sup> Over the years a good number of articles were published about this subject, but an overarching study did not appear. That is, until Vincent Jolivet published the results of his research on the Etruscan collection of the Musée du Louvre and set forth both typological and stylistic indications.<sup>9</sup> On the basis of late-Faliscan burial findings, Jolivet split up the Faliscan red-figured production in two periods: the 'Style ancien' (as of 380 BC) and the 'Style récent' (as of 340-280 BC). However, the process by which Faliscan pottery is dated on the basis of burial findings has a number of problems. Firstly, one has to deal with tombs with several inhumations. Secondly, the results of the excavations are often poorly documented in publications. These objections notwithstanding, there are a number of contexts in which dating can be demarcated from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards till the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. These contexts allow the Faliscan production to be divided in an older, richer phase and a younger phase with less elaborated representations. In the course of time, this demarcation will have to be specified on the basis of mainly urban contexts.

#### STAMNOS N° 16

The Faliscan stamnos of Ghent University belongs to type A with a profiled foot. The typological study of the stamnos focuses mainly on neck, lip and foot. Heavy restorations have, how-

ever, distorted its profile. The top of the stamnos especially has suffered severely: the entire neck and lip have been reconstructed. On the inside of the recipient, where neck and shoulder meet, one can still clearly see the supporting parts. The shoulder too has been damaged. On several places one can discern ruptures. The reconstruction of the neck overlaps on several places with the original. There has been some uncertainty about the authenticity of the foot. Callipolitis-Feytmans believed the neck, lip and foot could be of modern origin.<sup>10</sup> Since the paint<sup>11</sup> on this part is much duller than elsewhere on the body, one feared that the foot might stem from another recipient. This possibility was not to be excluded, since the stamnos was restored in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A CT-scan<sup>12</sup> shed more light on the matter (*fig. 1*). The foot turned out to be authentic. On the scan one can clearly discern the place where the foot has been attached to the body. The scan of the foot also shows several cracks due to the shrinking process of the clay. The clay, which constitutes the recipient, is of a pink, beige colour. The paint is black and glossy and in most places intact. The representations and palmettes show some lacunae, as mentioned before, the paint is duller on the foot. No white highlights are visible on either side. Touch-ups performed during the 19<sup>th</sup> century restorations could be made more visible by examining the stamnos with a black light.<sup>13</sup> Tongue-decorations, palmettes, as well as both representations, have been touched up, especially on cracked places.<sup>14</sup>





Fig. 4. *Stamnos* n° 16 of Ghent University, side A, maenad and satyr.



Fig. 5. Side A, maenad and satyr.

The decorative scheme consists of tongue-decorations on the shoulder, palmette-decorations below the handles and two figurative representations on both main sides. The tongue-decoration on the shoulder is described by a row of little tongues separated by three tiny lines ending in a dot. The figurative representations are banded below by a wavy pattern. The rich decoration below the handles consists of a stylised palmette

under the handle flanked by two more palmettes. The palmette under the handle has ten branches and rests on two double volutes. The area, which flanks the sides below the palmettes, is lavishly painted with motifs. The zone between the central palmette and the flanking palmettes has been supplied with two inverted palmettes. In between the handles and the flanking palmettes one or two circular motifs are situated (fig. 2-3).

Side A represents a maenad and a satyr (fig. 4-5). Judging from the company she keeps, we assume the woman is a maenad. The maenad stands upright and rests her left foot on an elevation; her left arm is raised while her right arm reaches for the satyr. The satyr sits on a conical object, looking in the direction of the maenad. His right arm is raised, while his left arm hangs close to his body. The satyr is naked and dons a beard. The maenad is adorned with a *peplos* fastened to the shoulders by two pins. Her feet are shod with sandals. At the back her hair is drawn tight in a knot.

Side B represents a maenad dressed in a panther's hide, holding a *thyrsus* in her hand (fig. 6-7). This maenad is pictured walking and looking backwards. Thus her body is represented in a twisted position. The robe she wears streams from her body. The panther's hide is draped over one shoulder and is held together by a pin. The hide is tightened around the waist, both ends stream from her body. On her feet she wears sandals. This maenad's hair too has been done up in a knot. She raises the *thyrsus* with her left hand. A ribbon flutters from the staff. A swan unfolding its wings at her right side accompanies her.

#### FALISCAN PRODUCTION

The subject matter of the representations on the Ghent Faliscan stamnos belongs to the Dionysian atmosphere. It is clear that the Dionysian themes have their origins in Attica. Falerii Veteres was the commercial centre from which Attic black-figured pottery was traded in the 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. After the battle of Cumae in 474 BC, southern Etruria went through an economical crisis. Thus the position of the Faliscans in this area was strengthened. A creditable hypothesis is that the Greek masters immigrated to central Italy and introduced there the red-figured technique. In the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Attic pottery was still being imported, but the local Faliscan production too was beginning to flourish.<sup>15</sup> Around 380 BC the Faliscans developed their own style, which was influenced by Attica and southern



Fig. 6. *Stamnos* n° 16 of Ghent University, side B, maenad with thyrsus and swan.



Fig. 7. Side B, maenad with thyrsus and swan.

Italy, but which was adapted to local tastes. The external influence can still be traced in several motifs, the elaboration of the eyes and robes and the composition of the scenes. But one also pandered to local tastes. The area below the handles, for example, was decorated with stylised vegetable motifs the shape of cloverleaves. Motifs of flowers intertwined with palmettes and curls. This became a standard part of the composition.

Thus the figurative zone still showed its original Attic influence, whereas the decorations under the handles became a characteristic design in its own right.<sup>16</sup> As to the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (340 BC) a technological and stylistic shift occurred. The technological evolution consisted of the fact that decorations now were painted without relief-lines. Beazley classified the late-Faliscan ceramics under the rubric 'Fluid Group', by which he referred to the thinned out paint used to decorate these vases. This technological evolution was part of the need to speed up the production process. Around the year 340 BC a red-figured production, directly based on the Faliscan style, started at Caere. Probably Faliscan masters had emigrated to Caere. Also due to the pressure of the market, the subject matter evolved towards more canonical representations: more stereotypical designs were used. Satyrs and maenads accompanied by birds became the canon of the Faliscan ceramics. Usually the figures were fitted into a natural decor. Regarding the Dionysian nature of the themes, a number of different hypotheses have been suggested about the function of the red-figured production. Both burial and domestic uses are possible. The utilitarian value of the vases as well as the connection between the Dionysian subject matter and the banquet, are in favour of a functionalist interpretation. However, the burial context in which most recipients were discovered as well as the chthonic role *Dionysos/Fufuns* fulfilled, may suggest an exclusively funerary use.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore decorations always consisted of a tongue-decoration on shoulders and palmettes and volutes below the handles. Towards the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC there appeared a reaction to the stereotypical, canonical representations. Under pressure of the market the production process had to be further accelerated. One tried to reconcile originality with a fast production process. This resulted in a general simplification of the main representation or, in any case, a decrease of the number of characters. One also preferred characters such as winged figures, which could easily fill in blank spaces. This evolution ended with the decoration of the recipient with an entire profile of a male or female head.<sup>18</sup>

If one takes into account all these elements, the Ghent stamnos probably belongs to the late-Faliscan production of the second part of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. First of all, the decorations on the Ghent stamnos have been painted without relief-lines. This is one of the most distinct feats of the late-Faliscan production; Beazley called the entire production 'Fluid Group' after this characteristic.<sup>19</sup>

Secondly, the Dionysian theme of the decoration as well as the limited number of characters belongs to the canon of the late-Faliscan production. The interplay between satyr and maenad, set in a naturalistic decor, was a favourite theme in the Faliscan production of that period.<sup>20</sup> The naturalistic setting was usually indicated by a stylised rock or plant. The small rock, on which the Ghent maenad rests, consists of a blank space and a number of dots. We find the same kind of representation with a number of other, more elaborated examples. In these examples, one sees a satyr with one foot propped up on a hill and both satyr and maenad sitting on a hill (CVA Italia 1 tav. 3, 2-4; CVA Italia 1 tav. 4, 1, 3; *EVP* pl. 18, 5; *EVP* pl. 20, 3; Adembri 1990 tav. Vb). The seated satyr is not an unusual representation; however, we know of no parallels for the conical object on which he is seated. The Musée du Louvre accommodates a piece in which the circular object, on which the satyr sits, is described as a sacrificing dish (CVA France 33 pl. 8, 1-4). Callipolitis-Feytmans described the conical object as a pillow, but about this there exists no certainty.<sup>21</sup> The twisted position of the maenad on side B is also a common representation (CVA France 33 pl. 2, 6-10; 5, 1-8; 7, 1-4 9-12; 8, 1-8). This position of the body suggests movement and is often interpreted as a flight for the approaching satyr or as a *thiasos*. The *thyrsus*, the panther's hide as well as the swan seem to corroborate this. We know of a number of examples in which the panther's hide is pictured around the satyr's shoulders or draped over a rock (*EVP* pl. 22, 2 and 25, 1, 5, 6; CVA Italia 2 tav. 8, 1, 2, 5; Adembri 1990, tav. II a-c.). The bird was quite common in the late-Faliscan red-figured production and was often used to fill in blank spaces. Jolivet drew up a statistical figure that affirms that 32% of the representations from Falerii Veteres features animals,<sup>22</sup> the most popular animal was a bird.<sup>23</sup> The Ghent stamnos shows no signs of white highlights, which in this period usually were painted on one of both sides. It is possible that the reduction of the white highlights - like working without relief-lines - was a consequence of speeding up the production process. However, one has to consider this argument with care, since very little Faliscan vases are known without white highlights on one of both sides.<sup>24</sup> Thirdly, the secondary decoration, the tongue-patterns on the shoulder and the palmettes under the handles, all fit the decorative scheme of the late-Faliscan production. Jolivet developed a relative dating on the basis of the palmettes under the handles. The palmette of the Ghent stamnos

shows similarities with the palmettes B, C and D of the late-Faliscan production.<sup>25</sup> The evolution is, however, so diverse that it becomes very hard to date a vase on the basis of its decoration. Moreover, the palmette decorations of the Ghent stamnos are very elaborate.<sup>26</sup> The stamnoi from the late-Faliscan production, which still come close to the 'Style ancien', show a double pattern of decoration on the shoulder, which consists of an egg-list below the tongue-decoration<sup>27</sup> (CVA France 33 pl. 3, 9-16).<sup>28</sup> The shoulder-decoration of the Ghent stamnos has a single band, which could indicate a later evolution. The wavy pattern, which trims the bottom part of the decoration of the Ghent stamnos, often occurred on shoulder or lip in the early-Faliscan production (CVA Italia 2 tav. 8-9; *EVP* pl. 19, 1)<sup>29</sup> and testifies to the South-Italian influence. In the late-Faliscan production this pattern was used as well (CVA France 33 pl. 16, 9-12 and 19, 1-4; CVA Deutschland 23 Taf. 67, 2, 3). Taken together, all these elements prompt us to situate the Ghent stamnos in the 4<sup>th</sup> century late-Faliscan production (340-300 BC). The Faliscan stamnos of Ghent University is, in any case, a unique sample. Its main importance lies in the fact that its decorative scheme and iconographic representations can add to the study of the Etruscan and Faliscan red-figured production.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> This is the target height, since the neck and lip are not authentic.
- <sup>2</sup> Maertens de Noordhout 1938, 121.
- <sup>3</sup> Bastet 1987.
- <sup>4</sup> Rottiers published his itinerary: B.E.A. Rottiers, *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*, s.l. 1829.
- <sup>5</sup> Bastet 1987, 4.
- <sup>6</sup> Callipolitis-Feytmans 1953.
- <sup>7</sup> Beazley 1947. Hereafter abbreviated as *EVP*.
- <sup>8</sup> Del Chiaro 1974.
- <sup>9</sup> Jolivet 1982.
- <sup>10</sup> Callipolitis-Feytmans 1953, 402.
- <sup>11</sup> The medium consists of clay.
- <sup>12</sup> A computer-tomograph is a radiological research method in which a computer takes a cross-section of an object. The CT-scan has been taken according to the following parameters: kV 120; 330 MAS; TI 0.75; SL 1mm (Siemens). Thanks to the Department of Radiology and Imaging Ghent University (Dr. Ph. Duyck) and Henri Houbrechts as well as to Prof. Roald Docter en Dr. Patrick Monsieur.
- <sup>13</sup> Many thanks to Prof. Robert Lunsingh Scheurleer and Dr. Patrick Monsieur.
- <sup>14</sup> On part A the zone between the satyr and the right-hand palmette has been worked upon. Also a number of lacunae between the maenad and the volutes have been repainted. A watery black spot on the maenad's arm probably derives from this restoration. On side B the area around the *thyrsus* especially has been worked



upon. The tongue-decoration on the shoulder was not only touched up, but also shows a darker zone on which the recipient was probably treated with gloss paint.

- <sup>15</sup> Moretti 1988, 16.
- <sup>16</sup> Adembri 1988, 7-14.
- <sup>17</sup> Jolivet 1982, 116.
- <sup>18</sup> Jolivet 1982, 20-37.
- <sup>19</sup> One has to consider, however, that the relief-line did not always occur in the early Faliscan production. Moreover, the 'Style céretaine moyen' and 'Style céretaine récent' is also marked by the absence of relief-lines.
- <sup>20</sup> In other production centres satyrs and maenads were of course also represented. During the contemporary production of Caere maenads were pictured in a characteristic peplos; female figures showed a lot of trappings like earrings and crowns. Usually the maenad was pictured as seated.
- <sup>21</sup> Callipolitis-Feytmans 1953, 403.
- <sup>22</sup> Jolivet 1982, 94. Compare Tarquinii 28%, Caere 7% and Vulci 6%.
- <sup>23</sup> The owl, swan, duck or non-specifiable birds.
- <sup>24</sup> Jolivet 1982, 23.
- <sup>25</sup> Jolivet 1982, 26. The palmette rests on volutes (type B), has flanking palmettes (B1 en C), has a triangular shape (type D) and consists of circular motifs to fill empty areas (type D).
- <sup>26</sup> The tiny palmettes under the flanking palmettes one sometimes find back in palmette-decorations on oinochoai of Caere.
- <sup>27</sup> Jolivet 1982, 25.
- <sup>28</sup> These stamnoi have been related to the Marcioni Group (EVP pl. 17) and the Captives Group (EVP pl. 19, 7-8 and 20, 2).
- <sup>29</sup> The Louvre possesses a kylix and an oinochoe (CVA France 33 pl. 22, 12-14 and 21, 5-8) which have this kind of wavy pattern. Jolivet notes that the kylix still has strong Faliscan characteristics.

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# The Potenza Valley Survey: Preliminary Report on Field Campaign 2001

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## THE PVS-PROJECT

In January 2000 the Department of Archaeology at Ghent University initiated a new survey project in Italy, titled *'The Potenza Valley Survey. From Acculturation to Social Complexity in Antiquity: A Regional Geo-Archaeological and Historical Approach'*.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the acquisition of additional financial support<sup>2</sup> we will be able to prolong this research program at least until 2006. The aims and methods of this long term-project, as well as the results of the first field campaigns in May and September 2000, have been published in *BABesch*.<sup>3</sup> In this report we will present some preliminary results of a major part of the aerial photography and the fieldwork of 2001, as well as a first evaluation of the study of the finds. The project's survey-area remains constricted to the circa 80 km long valley of the river Potenza in Adriatic Central-Italy (Marche).

As the new financial support has been obtained within the framework of an international research program, which focuses on Late Antiquity (3<sup>rd</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century), very special attention will in the future be paid to this particular period. Nevertheless the original aim to measure long-term evolutions and changes between 1000 BC and 1000 AD will generally be sustained. As has been emphasized elsewhere, it is precisely such a long-term view, which allows to place the developments of ancient society in a sufficiently broad perspective. Still, other periods are not ignored, and it is intended that the analysis of the survey results will range across the whole period of human settlement.

## ACTIVE AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

The photographic detection of sites and off-site phenomena within the PVS-project concerns the whole Potenza valley, which is photographed from a low-flying aircraft during regular flights in different seasons. In 2001 this activity was concentrated in summer (July) and early fall (September).<sup>4</sup> Since harvest takes place rather early in this region of Italy, the July-flights did not produce the

same excellent results as were obtained during flights in May 2000, but they nevertheless extended our collection of slides and photographs to a total of some 1500 oblique aerial images. The number of processed sites in the inventory, where possible ancient field structures (such as lines, patches and dots) appear, reaches now about 200 units. Again some of these features have already been checked in the field, or coincide with areas within our second transect of intensive field-walking (see further). It still remains impossible to attach a chronological value to many of the structures without further field checks or even excavations. Still, in almost  $\frac{1}{3}$  of all cases checked on the ground a first chronological indication is available.<sup>5</sup>

Again most sites were visible as soil marks, foremost observed during September-flights in the ploughed fields of the area of intensive field-walking near Treia (see further). As most of them coincide well with concentrations of settlement debris on the surface, a first chronological evaluation is possible. A majority of these seem to belong to the more visible Roman period, but also pre- and protohistoric sites and even medieval ones were detected or confirmed in this way. The easy observation of these darker greyish brown patches in the ploughed soil, is probably the result of a combination of ploughed up occupation layers, zones with locally more organic substance in the upper layers and humidity traces caused by differential drying of the soil in some archaeological zones. Sometimes, they are revealed by the very extensive surface erosion in this undulating landscape. Generally these settlement traces are seen as large irregular patches, but especially in the case of some Roman villas and farms, linear features, probably indicating local entrance roads and maybe some buildings, were observed. A typical isolated soil mark of irregular shape, observed on a small but pronounced hilltop near S. Maria in Selva (*fig. 1*), could after ground inspection be interpreted as a medieval site (circa 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century). Here we discovered a very dense concentration of potsherds, fragments of tiles, many animal bones in good condition and a fair num-



Fig. 1. Soilmarks on a medieval site near S. Maria in Selva.



Fig. 2. Cropmarks of a Roman road (to Urbs Salvia ?) and possible funerary monuments south of Potentia.

ber of fragments of medieval bricks, sandstone boulders and some *spolia* (e.g. marble *crustae*) from a Roman site nearby. This discovery proves the validity of aerially detected irregular soil marks of (early) medieval sites, which generally are hard to trace in this *incastellamento*-landscape.

The potential for observing *crop marks* in this still very agrarian landscape was again confirmed. Especially in the area of the river mouth, which will be the focus of more intense flying in the spring of 2002, the results were good. New details were added to sites already discovered during earlier work in the area. Such is the case with a major protohistoric site at Montarice, on a promontory north of the river mouth. In a field of sunflowers were revealed different linear traces, some of which probably belong to the ancient enclosure of this imposing site. A short field check of the general topography and of some of the internal traces and spots indicates that this site with known Bronze age occupation,<sup>6</sup> was no





Fig. 3. Shadowmarks produced by differential tree-growth on the early medieval hilltop-site of Monte Gista.

doubt also very important in Iron Age and Roman times. Possibly this circa 4 ha large *oppidum*-like structure had a role to play in the control of the river mouth and the Adriatic shore by a local Piceni-elite. It was further possibly the emplacement of a well-situated Roman villa.<sup>7</sup>

Good results with detecting crop marks were also obtained on the site of the Roman town of *Potentia*, some distance south of the actual river mouth of the Potenza. Again new traces of the colony's street grid were revealed and mapped. Surprising was also the discovery of some suburban infrastructure. Along a road leading out of the ancient town in a south-westerly direction, which we discovered last year, we now noticed several small rectangular cropmarks disposed neatly along this ancient track (fig. 2). An identification as possible funerary monuments, constructed parallel with the road, seems most likely.

A third type of marks, *shadow marks*, were encountered only in a limited number of areas. Such traces, particularly associated with earthworks and human adaptations of the relief, seem to occur especially in the mountainous landscapes, where the thick forest cover or the permanent grasslands have conserved ancient features well.

Aerial detection can be very complementary to historical research here, as was clearly demonstrated by the images produced from the air of some Longobardian or other early medieval castles and hilltop-sites.

Upland sites visible in woodland, like on the Monte Gista (Fiuminata), whose concentric defense system was clearly revealed, can now be studied with more detail (fig. 3). This is also the case with the spectacular shadow marks of the protohistoric ritual (?) and settlement site, known from earlier discoveries<sup>8</sup> on the Monte Primo, near Camerino. New aerial views imposed a second visit of our team (backed by geomorphologists) to this top-site overlooking the Upper Potenza valley,<sup>9</sup> primarily to investigate two aspects. Firstly we studied in detail the circular discolorations, which we had spotted in 2000. We can now state that they do not indicate ancient funerary monuments, but that the strange differential growth of grasses is the result of particular conditions of humidity and that they are a natural phenomenon.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, we traced the exact location of the major late Bronze Age circumvallations by means of a handheld GPS (Global Positioning System) instrument. We remarked that part of the outer



*Fig. 4. Ground checking of the remains of a possible limestone quarry on the protohistoric hillsite of Monte Primo.*



*Fig. 5. Fieldwalking in the area of Treia.*



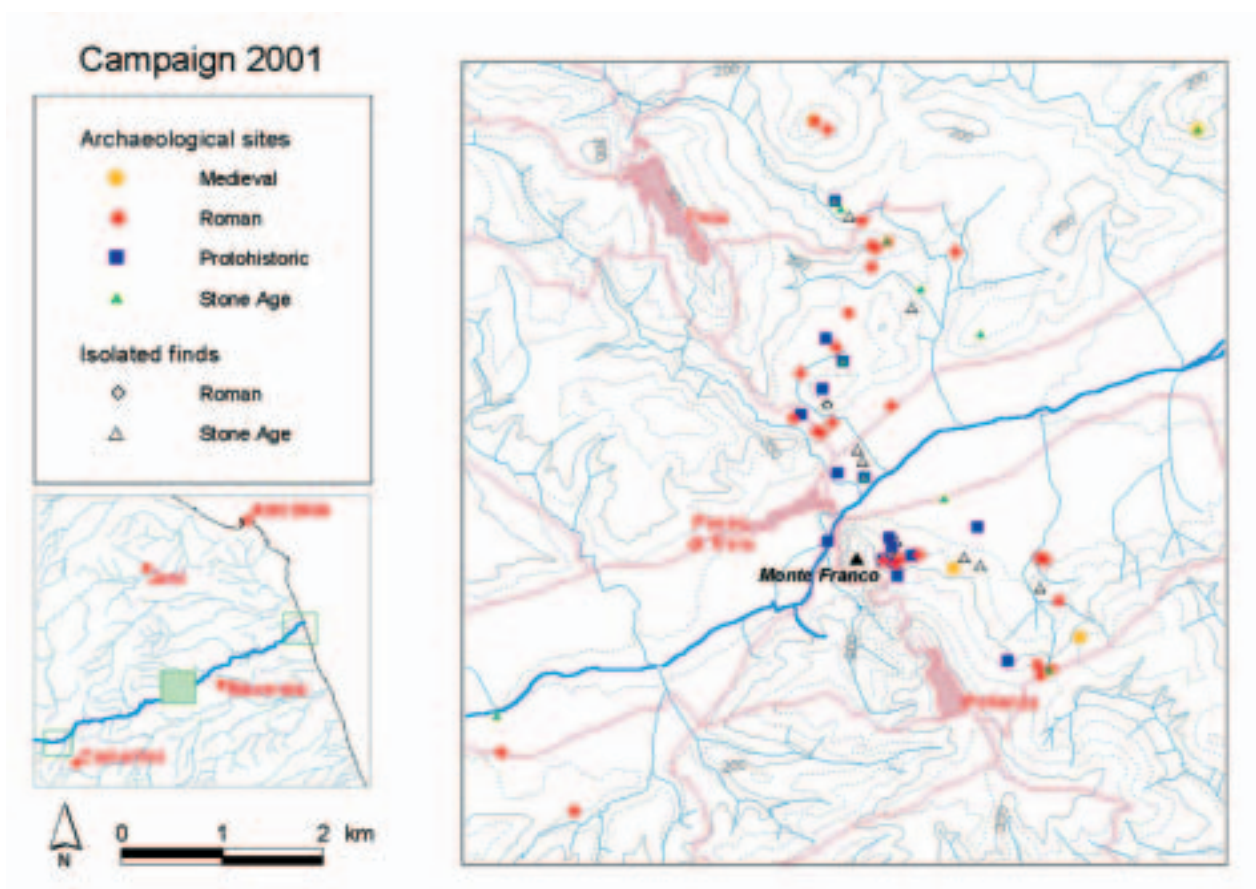


Fig. 6. General map with results of fieldwalking during the 2001 campaign.

enclosure was connected with a possible ancient limestone-quarry (fig. 4). Furthermore it is interesting, but sad, to notice that we had to ascertain the enlargement of the tombaroli-pit about which we already reported last year.<sup>11</sup> Once again protohistoric potsherds and bone fragments, left by the looters, were present in abundance.

#### FIELD CAMPAIGN IN THE TREIA AREA

As has been announced in last year's report<sup>12</sup> the intensive field surveys are only being carried out in 3 large sample zones. They are transects of some 9 to 25 km each, systematically spaced at regular intervals across the c. 80 km long region of the Potenza Valley. They cover all the main landscape types of the region and represent in particular the upper (2000), middle (2001) and lower valley (2002/2003). They are chosen on geographical grounds, but also on the basis of cultural-historical features, such as the vicinity of Roman towns (for which they acted as hinterland) or/and of known protohistoric centres, such as hillsites with important élite cemeteries. One of the strengths

of this kind of intensive field survey is its ability to shed light on long-term changes in settlement pattern and land use.

The area investigated during the September 2001 campaign (3 weeks) is situated in the middle valley of the Potenza, immediately west of Passo di Treia. The topography of this landscape, situated at some 30 km from the Adriatic shore, is essentially of Miocene and Pliocene origin. The hilly area, situated generally between 250 and 350 m, consists of dorsal ridges alternating with small and sometimes deeply incised secondary valleys, which are connected with the east-west oriented Potenza valley. The still very agrarian open landscape with dispersed rural units, groups its population mainly in several towns situated since medieval times on the hilltops overlooking the valley.

Our survey area covers some territory of the municipalities of Pollenza and Treia, with a total of about 14 km (fig. 6). This area was not arbitrarily chosen. Along the course of the middle valley a couple of strategic protohistoric hilltop sites occur, e.g. the Monte Pitino and the Monte Franco. In the Passo di Treia area the Potenza runs through a nar-

rowing of the valley formed by two axial hillspurs of Miocene date, occupied by the medieval and actual centres of Treia (N) and Pollenza (S). On the south side the river is dominated by a very conspicuous promontory, the Monte Franco (or Francolo).

The presence of protohistoric features in this zone, known from literature,<sup>13</sup> does not surprise at all when we take into account the strategic value of this particular area. On a dominant plateau immediately west of actual Treia lies the site of the Roman *municipium Trea*. Intensive survey in the region west of the pass by Moscatelli, whose conclusions have been published in the *Forma Italiae* series, has already highlighted the importance of the area in Roman times.<sup>14</sup> We, therefore, decided to focus our fieldwork on the area east of the pass, so that both studies might become complementary. The whole core of the hinterland of Roman *Trea* in the Potenza valley could then be systematically approached.

As the archaeological field methods of intensive line-walking in team (fig. 5) and systematic registration in a GIS remained essentially the same as during last year's campaign, we refer to the 2000-report for this information.<sup>15</sup> In the Treia area a total of some 70 sites were defined on the basis of comparatively higher surface artefact density or by the presence of certain anomalies. All potential chronologically diagnostic artefacts, all feature sherds (rims, bases, handles), all prehistoric pottery, and all lithic artefacts were collected during the routine field survey and bagged as a group according to field number. The still preliminary processing of all archaeological material (see further) and a first apprehension of the main topographical aspects of the sites and of some of the off-site finds, leads to a series of observations per period.

#### Stone Age

Before a precise definition, identification and chronometry of Stone Age sites in the survey area is available specialist reports on our finds are awaited.<sup>16</sup> Still, several zones of intense occupation by Late Stone Age settlers were located. Three of them were found on the lowest gravel terraces immediately south of the Potenza. Here we discovered some not very dense, concentrations of a handful of fragments of prehistoric pottery and many pieces of worked flint, e.g. some cores and blades, with a higher density towards the river. These finds probably indicate the presence of a very wide settlement and activity zone, connected

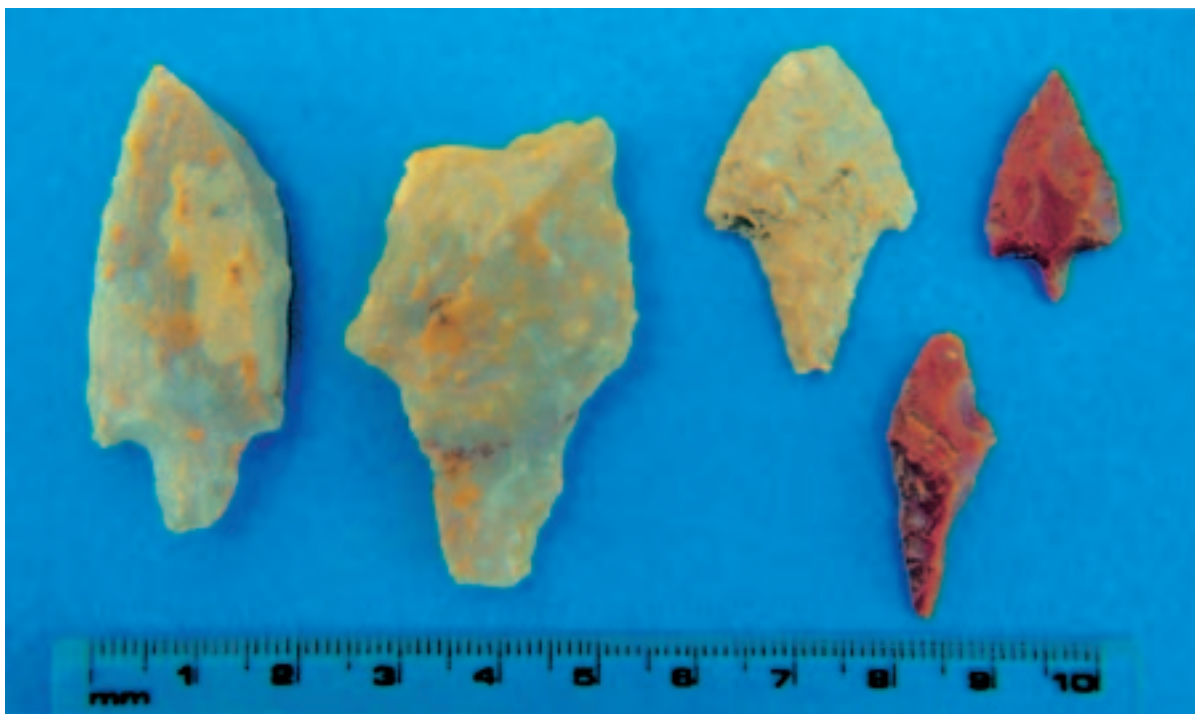
with the river and with readily available raw flint material for the production of tools and weapons (fig. 7). It is possible that factors such as colluviation shield the appearance of more neat concentration zones with a higher density and sharper delimitations. A GIS-analysis that takes into account several geomorphological parameters can be helpful here in the future.

Most of the more inland-located prehistoric sites are also located near streams and ancient terraces. One of them, probably of Neolithic date, was found north of the Potenza river, located immediately west of a small torrent. Here we discovered a large concentration of worked flint (some cores, flakes, tools and weapons) together with several prehistoric potsherds. The artefacts coincide with an area of very dark greyish soil (sandy clay) mixed with some loose pebbles. An old occupation layer is possibly ploughed up and partly deposited here by colluviation originating from a river terrace immediately north of the site.

Furthermore we have inventoried several isolated flint artefacts such as scrapers, arrowheads, a burin and a bifacially worked point. These isolated finds are dispersed over the whole survey area.

#### Bronze and Iron Age

Although the protohistoric material collected during the Treia campaign was often much more diagnostic than the Bronze and Iron Age pottery found in the Camerino area,<sup>17</sup> it still remains difficult to identify distinct Bronze age sites in the region. A small concentration of thick, probable Bronze Age potsherds and some burned loam, lying on the southern river bank of the Potenza near the Molino-bridge and at the foot of the Monte Franco, agrees well with the expected. The top of the Monte Franco (fig. 8) has already revealed its archaeological value in this period. Apennine, Sub-Apennine and Protovillanovan remnants have been discovered here during small-scale excavations and it seems that the Recent and Final Bronze Age settlement was situated on top of the Monte Franco, while some Iron Age continuity was located in the eastern plain at the foot of the hill.<sup>18</sup> Our finds seem to indicate that the Bronze Age occupation might well have extended to the river edge. Another site with probable connection to the Monte Franco, was discovered at only 500 m distance of this hill. This elongated concentration of protohistoric (probably Bronze Age) pottery and some flint artefacts is not dense, but within the context of the field quite clear.



*Fig. 7. Some arrowheads collected at different locations in the survey area.*



*Fig. 8. View of the Monte Franco.*





Fig. 9. Some 'Piceni-bucchero' from the settlement-zone at the foot of the Monte Franco.

At least eight of the protohistoric sites much resemble the possible but difficult to date Iron Age sites, which we identified in the upper Potenza valley,<sup>19</sup> both as far as the potsherds themselves, as the location of these findspots go. We now tend to identify these sites as rather small Iron Age settlements. They reveal limited numbers of datable finer wares. As in the upper valley some of their locations are clearly determined by the availability of easy and sure sources for the provision of water, an observation not unique in the Marche and elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> They occur on both sides of the Potenza valley. A very distinct Iron Age site of this simple 'casale' type, found high on a hillslope immediately east of the centre of Pollenza, is a good example. It lies approximately some 50 m to the south of a natural spring located at the top of a torrente. The very obvious and dense concentration of protohistoric pottery and some sparse river pebbles was found in an area of dark greyish brown earth, which is clearly distinguished from the surrounding lighter brown soil. From this slight slope, oriented towards the southeast, there is a very nice view over the whole Potenza valley until the coastal Monte Conero.

Of a very different kind is the extensive Iron Age settlement zone discovered at the foot of the Monte Franco. Here a cluster of six protohistoric concentrations must be interpreted as one phenomenon. The location in the immediate surroundings of the Monte Franco is important to notice, since it is in about this same area that the Soprintendenza delle Marche excavated in 1961 some elements of an important Piceni-necropolis at Moie di Pollenza.<sup>21</sup> The excavated remains of the cemetery were datable between 900-700 BC. In the summer of 1963 research continued and revealed that the necropolis was situated on top of a Piceni-settlement of the Early Iron Age, which in turn covered an Apennine occupation.<sup>22</sup>

During our surveys we determined and mapped several dense cores of Iron Age artefacts in this general area, essentially in arable fields on the eastern and northeastern slopes of the Monte Franco. Most of them consist of protohistoric pottery associated with some wattle and daub and some fragments of oven or hearth floors. Among the pottery we distinguish Iron Age *dolia* fragments, many typical ornamented 'Piceni-bucchero' sherds (fig. 9) and some imported pottery, e.g. geometric and Greek potsherds. In the clear-





Fig. 10. Possible Piceni-burials detected as crop marks at Passo di Treia.

est area, a very gently sloping or almost flat zone partly bordered to the north by a talud, probably of Roman age (see further), different indications point to a function as settlement. Although the field does not belong to a clear river terrace many pebbles occur here in the concentration. Furthermore, many small fragments of sandstone, some bone fragments, some bronze and wattle and daub are present. Together with other zones downslope this whole area can be considered as a wide settlement zone located on the gentle slopes at the foot of the Monte Franco. It certainly represents a form of concentrated habitation connected with the presence of the Piceni elite in the Middle Valley.

Not far from the Monte Franco, on the northern bank of the Potenza, we planned to investigate a specific field where our aerial photographs had shown circular crop marks (*fig. 10*) which might be connected to another Piceni-necropolis.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately this field was still under crops. Control of an adjoining field resulted in a partial confirmation of this indication as some protohistoric potsherds (e.g. a 'Piceni-bucchero'-handle) were found here. This research will be continued.

#### *Roman period*

As could be expected from earlier work in the area around Roman *Trea*,<sup>24</sup> east of our survey zone, the Roman finds in the 2001-transect were particularly numerous. Almost 30 distinct Roman settlement sites were mapped, as well as much off-site material of that period. In clear contrast with the results in the Upper Potenza valley, where most of the sites that we recorded should be interpreted as more or less isolated and fairly simple farmsteads widely scattered over the landscape, in this region the dispersed Roman settlement structure shows greater hierarchy. Apart from a majority of small and simple sites, the presence of larger complexes, some of which can be considered as villas, was noted. The latter not only display a more extensive surface scatter, but the presence of more imperishable building materials (floortiles, roof tiles, bricks, *hypocaustum*-tiles, limestone and sandstone boulders,...), much more imported pottery and whole categories of specific finds (coins, glass, lead artefacts,...) indicates greater comfort, wealth and organisation.

The site distribution in this period displays a more total use of the landscape, compared to the

Iron Age situation. Although at first sight an even spread seems likely, at least four distinct patterns should be distinguished:

1. The lower terraces near the Potenza are certainly chosen for their easy to work arable land, possibly the presence of meadows and water. Part of the sites here seem also connected with the main road arteries, such as the branch of the Roman road in the valley bottom connecting *Septempeda* with *Ricina*. Near this road and close to the modern road which leads from Passo di Treia to Treia we noted several dense concentrations (fig. 12) with Roman pottery and building materials, such as *tegulae*, limestone blocks and even parts of an *opus spicatum* floor.
2. Some settlements show the same location pattern as the simple Iron Age sites: a farm built on the slopes with a clear vicinity to natural water supply in the shape of springs or torrents. Several small sites in the southern part of the survey area, near Pollenza, display these characteristics.
3. A series of settlements, some clearly of the more elaborate (villa-)type is located on the hilltops and ridges at some distance from the river, often evolving parallel with the Potenza and especially located in the northern part of our study area where an orientation towards the south was favoured. These villa-sites seem surrounded by large estates wherein only some secondary, isolated Roman structures, associated with agricultural activity, have been recorded. This pattern of well-situated hill-top sites, on high gravel terraces, is already recognisable in some older finds from the area, such as the probable villa remains on a ridge parallel to the Potenza at Votalarca and some finds on the even higher Colle Carbonari.<sup>25</sup> Several important sites can be added to this list now. A good example is a site in the northern part of our survey zone, where a very neat concentration of Roman artefacts was found on the ridge just south of the Strada Vicinale Chiaravalle (fig. 11). The concentration consists of many fragments of pottery, a very large number of rooftiles and some small to large worked and unworked blocks of sandstone. A fresh coin of Vespasian and a stamped tile (see below) belong to the more important finds. The artefact concentration is very well delineated and can be seen from a distance as a typical zone of greyish earth. Its main core, full of building materials, measures some 20x17 m with a southwest northeast axis. The greyish zone flows out in

the southern direction of the lower slope, where colluviation has resulted in a very large concentration of Roman building materials and pottery.

4. Finally a couple of Roman sites could well be connected with the Monte Franco hill and the natural pass, already a point of attraction in protohistoric times. The ideal view and possibly a control function could have played here. The best example was found just northeast of the main Piceni-settlement area. It is a very large Roman settlement zone, with dense remains of building materials and pottery, which can be divided into two (*in situ*?) areas, probably representing two large buildings. The site lies on a relatively flat part of the slope, bordered by an old (Roman?) talud, and has a great view on the pass, the river Potenza and the Monte Franco. The finer wares and larger numbers of pottery seem to be situated in the eastern part of this concentration, an area with a length of some 80 m. The individual concentrations seem to be part of a large villa with its main building(s) on a northwest-southeast longitudinal axe and several outhouses south and maybe north of it. The presence of the talud and the terracing might indicate clear Roman interference with the topography.

Although in some cases a more distinct date within the Roman period can already be proposed, and some sites with long lives were encountered, further pottery research is awaited before chronological groupings and counts per period are possible. Only then will it be possible to study phenomena such as: continuity or discontinuity of occupation with other periods, shifts in settlement location within the Roman period, detailed comparison of site sizes, etc.

#### *Early Middle Ages*

Again very little material of distinct medieval date was encountered during our prospections.<sup>26</sup> Sites of that period can hardly be distinguished. A typical medieval hilltop site, comparable to the one already discussed just outside our survey transect (see above), was found on the very top of the Colle Carbonari. The small concentration has not been fully evaluated, but it consists essentially of medieval pottery and some isolated pieces of Roman (?) rooftiles. The full extent and date of this site still has to be determined, but both sites seem to confirm the emerging picture of rather restricted isolated sites outside the major towns,



*Fig. 11 Remains of a Roman villa detected by soilmarks on one of the hilltops near modern Treia.  
Remark the large outflow of brown soil downslope as a result of colluviation.*



*Fig. 12. Roman settlement site and remains of an old road (?) in the valley bottom just north of the Potenza.*



essentially confined to some small hilltop settlements.

Other medieval (and post-medieval) finds were generally part of so-called off-site scatters. This was certainly the case on the fields immediately east of the towns of Pollenza and Treia, where aspects of garbage disposal, manuring and colluviation certainly result in a very intricate pattern of surface distribution.

#### PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF THE FINDS

##### *Introduction*

In 2000 and 2001, two seasons of surveys in the Potenza Valley area were carried out in the surroundings of *Prolaqueum*/Pioraco and of *Trea*/Treia. Both fieldwalking campaigns produced a high number of finds, most of them ceramics. Especially the second season was very fruitful, probably due to the vicinity of the *municipium* of *Trea*. Indeed, if the chronology ranges from the Paleolithic to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Roman finds of the imperial era outweigh the rest. Pottery and ceramic building material dominate. Remarkable was the find of fragments of a brick floor in *opus spicatum* on a villa site near Treia. There were also some Roman glass finds, while metal objects occurred rarely. The latter are difficult to date, with the exception of 10 coins, amongst them 5 of the Roman period. Stone objects as well as well-finished stone building material was also rarely noticed, apart from flint artefacts, most of them dating from the Late Stone Age. Bronze Age material seems rare, but this has most likely to do with problems of identification of the sherds. Fieldwalking on the important Iron Age site at the foot of nearby Monte Franco yielded lots of fragments of Picenean building-material, fine and coarse wares, and some rare semi-glazed South-Italian and most probably black glaze Greek imports. In both the areas of Pioraco and of Treia black gloss or so-called Campanian ware and its imitations turned up at an appreciable rate, informing us of human occupation in the last three centuries BC. Late antique occupation is difficult to detect, despite the presence of some Asia Minor and African imports or imitations. The early middle ages are also difficult to trace, though some decorated wall sherds could point to occupation in the Longobardian age, near Pioraco as well as around Treia. A small hill-site near the southern boundary of the territory of Treia yielded a reasonable amount of diagnostic pottery presumably dating from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the

13<sup>th</sup> century. Post-medieval finds concern mostly majolica, plane and cooking ware, 'testo da pane' fragments and some particular objects, such as canon balls and arquebus bullets. Finally a pottery dump of mainly dishes to be dated in the 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century was plotted near Pollenza.

##### *Current research and methodology*

The difficulties in identifying survey material are well known. Responsible are the fragmentary and eroded state of the pottery. A temporary lack of familiarity with the pottery of some periods forms another barrier to identification.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the help of regional experts<sup>28</sup> or comparison within a well-defined survey context gave already a clue to some of the most problematic materials. The stone artefacts of Stone and Bronze Ages are in a first instance classified by students specializing in prehistory at the Universities of Ghent and Macerata. In the near future they will be studied more thoroughly.<sup>29</sup> The examination of the Iron Age material is connected with a close study of the Picene settlements.<sup>30</sup> The black gloss material is studied in the light of a *status quaestionis* of this class of pottery in Italy.<sup>31</sup> A research program is being built up for the Late Antique and Early Medieval pottery.<sup>32</sup> Finally some experience of the authors of this report with the identification of Greek and Roman pottery proves to be very useful. Even so, the publications of archaeological reports of the Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche remain fundamental. Especially the well-preserved finds of the necropolis of *Potentia* at Porto Recanati and the finds of a nearby excavated villa suburbana, published by L. Mercado, can be considered as a first class reference for the study of pottery in the Potenza Valley and more generally in *Picenum*.<sup>33</sup> Visits in the near future to different public and private<sup>34</sup> archaeological collections in the Marche will be very useful. Important production and consumption centres in *Picenum*, or those in the northern Adriatic such as Fano, Ravenna, Aquileia or Pola, have to be taken into account, as well as imports of other Italian settlements and of Eastern and North-African regions.

A program for a reference fabric collection is being built up in collaboration with the Department of Geology of Ghent University.<sup>35</sup> Forthcoming petrographic and chemical analysis applied to imported ceramics could be connected with existing reference collections emanating from Roman sites in Belgium and sites excavated by Belgian Missions in Greece, Turkey and the Middle East.



Fundamental fabric study has already been carried out or is in progress on Classical and Hellenistic cooking ware and storage vessels, and Greek and Roman amphorae, especially Coan types and Italian Dressel 1 and Dressel 2-4 types.<sup>36</sup> The experience obtained and a presumable relationship with Late Antique cooking ware imported from the Aegean seem to be relevant in this research. The abundance of amphora fragments picked up in the survey, stresses again the importance of fabric study in order to get more information on origins and even chronology. It is hardly needed to emphasize that this sort of research should be expanded to other categories of pottery. Eventually, this could lead to a better knowledge of local productions, not only for well-defined periods, but also concerning centuries-old use of clays and techniques in pottery-making. In another way fabric study could prove to be conclusive in specific case-studies such as on the regional or even local imitations of republican black gloss or African Red Slip.

One should keep in mind that the classic study of typology remains of basic importance. Thanks to the good preservation of some pottery fragments this is possible for Roman and Late Medieval pottery, and even for some Iron Age finds. Typological study of North-Italian terra sigillata is clear, but is also very rewarding for other types of Roman pottery. For instance a typological overview of the widespread one-handled globular thin walled beakers with their very specific rims and handles, but displaying different sizes and details, would be very profitable. Moreover they show an important variety in fabrics. Amphorae are another specific category of pottery where a thorough examination can be most rewarding. This is shown by the study (forthcoming) of the Aegean amphora type Knossos 19, as denominated by J. Hayes.<sup>37</sup> The Knossos 19 amphora, probably originating from Kos, functions as a guide-line for chronology but is also a tell-tale on ancient economy and trade (apparently Greek wine) in *Picenum* and along the Adriatic coast. The necropolis of *Potentia* yielded 6 amphorae of this type, which is considerable in comparison with the other amphora types that were reused in the graves.<sup>38</sup> Since the presence of these amphorae in Pompeii and 1<sup>st</sup>-century Corinth, a date in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD should be revised.<sup>39</sup> During our second season of field-walking, substantial fragments of the shoulder and one handle of a Knossos 19 (fig. 16, 19) were discovered on a probable villa-site near Treia: an important chronological reference, but also an

indication for the spread of Eastern imports on rural sites.

Epigraphic finds of Roman date were very poor. Two sherds of Roman coarse ware seem to bear graffiti, while a fragment of a stamped tile was discovered on the same site where the Knossos 19 turned up (fig. 18, 28). The reading of the stamp is not certain, but the tile is likely to come from a northern Adriatic production centre.

The processing of the huge number of artefacts that were recovered during fieldwalking is based on a Microsoft Access program. Most of the information has already been brought into this Access-database, but needs refinements. In the near future a first try to quantification will be carried out. The material itself was firstly stored according to the nature of the material: stone, metal, glass, ceramic. The ceramics are divided in building-materials and pottery. The pottery is classified in diagnostic sherds and, the bulk of the material, wall sherds. The finds of the first season are deposited in the town-hall of Fiuminata, the second season finds in an ancient schoolbuilding at Villa Potenza, now in use as a finds depot of the Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche. Intensive study of all this material is programmed in the seasons to come.

### *The finds*

At this stage of the research, the preliminary presentation of the finds can merely be a selection with some short notes. Programs for the study of the material of all periods are in preparation. In a final stage, the results of the material-study will be confronted with the field observations, procuring more detailed data for the identification and dating of the different sites and off-site phenomena.<sup>40</sup>

### *- Stone, Bronze and Iron Age*

The oldest artefacts, among them a hand-axe and a Mousterien triangular point, date back to the Paleolithic.<sup>41</sup> But the bulk of the lithic material, consisting of arrowheads and blades, belongs to the Neolithic period.<sup>42</sup> A survey during the first season on the Potenza terrace near Monte Primo led to the discovery of a large Neolithic site under threat of modern exploitation.<sup>43</sup> The limited number of Neolithic and Bronze Age impasto sherds reflects more identification problems than scarcity. This is mainly due to the fragmentary state of the pottery and the traditions of pottery-making deep into the Iron Age,<sup>44</sup> as shown by the coarse ware finds on Monte Primo. If there are

diagnostic features they are limited to lugs and cordon walled fragments (fig. 13, 1).

In contrast, Iron Age bucchero-like (ceramica bucceroide) fine ware and South-Italian imports reflecting the thriving and wealthy culture of the *Piceni*, are easily distinguishable, but one should keep in mind that they must represent only a minor part of the mass of sherds of this period that were picked up. Substantial diagnostic fragments of black-burnished bucchero-like pottery represent a very differentiated series of shapes and incised decorations. Fragments of furcated horn handles ('anse a corna ramificate'), strap looping handles (probably of *kyathoi* or *kantharoi*), pastille-like lugs, profiled stems, rims and carinated walls, mostly belong to different kinds of cups (fig. 13, 3-5). Some of the finds have close parallels with intact examples from necropolis sites in the neighbourhood, such as S. Ginesio, Pitino di San Severino, Moie di Pollenza and Passo di Treia, or from other sites in the Marche such as Numana and Grottazolina.<sup>45</sup> The decoration consists of incised lines, triangles and circles. A chalice cup with relief cuts in the sharp edge of the carinated wall reminds us of the beautiful triple cups on stand of Grottazolina.<sup>46</sup> Most of the material is likely to date from the end of 7<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Picenum III and IVA), and was picked up on an important Picenean settlement at the foot of Monte Franco near Treia. Nevertheless the bulk of the sherds produced by this settlement is coarse ware. Since a good part amongst them are diagnostic fragments, we can hope that they will give better insight in this ill-known category of Picenean pottery. Building fragments have also been found here: some daub fragments, but essentially tiles (fig. 13, 4). A handful of sherds of imported semi-glazed ware with geometric motives (black, brownish and red

bands) in Greek tradition was found on the same site. Their South-Italian origin seems clear, but the regions of production remain uncertain (Apulian? Messapian? Daunian?). One semi-glazed handle with bands was undoubtedly part of an *oinochoe* (fig. 13, 7).<sup>47</sup> At least two small black glaze wall sherds can be ascertained as being of Greek origin.

#### - Roman Republican

More than 30 find-spots yielded some 70 fragments of black gloss or so-called Campanian ware, imports or imitations, going from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (maybe until the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD).<sup>48</sup> A handle with wall fragment of a cup Espèce 3220 in the classification of J.-P. Morel could date from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (fig. 14, 8).<sup>49</sup> A ring-base of a *skyphos* dates from the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>50</sup> A rather well-preserved *pyxis* fragment type 7544 remains difficult to date, but needs close comparison with the famous inscribed *Op(p)ius-pyxis* discovered in the earliest layers of *Potentia* (fig. 14, 9).<sup>51</sup> A first examination of the clay leads to the supposition that some of the black gloss material are productions from the regional workshop in *Aesis*.<sup>52</sup> Simple rouletting is nearly the only decoration that was noticed on the black gloss fragments, but doesn't give clues as to the identification of types or to chronology. Because of the fragmentary state of most of the black gloss material it remains very difficult to present an appreciable range of different types.

#### - Roman Imperial

##### Pottery

Terra sigillata and thin walled ware are quite well represented in the mass of Roman pottery that

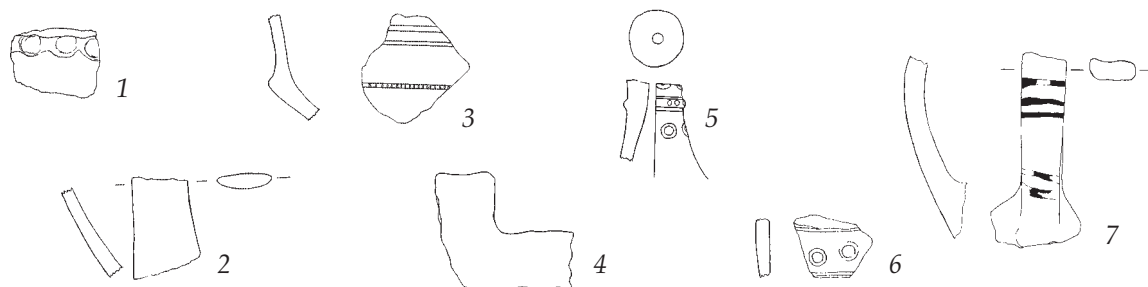


Fig. 13. Late Bronze Age (?) impressed cordon wall fragment (1), Iron Age: Picenean bucchero-like ware, with incised decoration, cup with carinated wall (2-3, 5-6); Picenean tile (4); South-Italian import, semi-glazed handle of an *oinochoe* (7), late 7<sup>th</sup> or first half 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. (Scale 1/3)

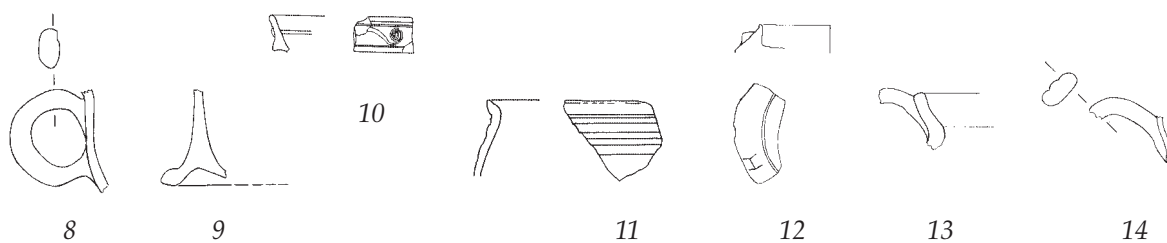


Fig. 14. Roman Republican and Imperial: handle of a cup in black gloss (8), probably 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, fragment of pyxis in black gloss (9), 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; rim of a terra sigillata dish type Goudineau 28/Dragendorff 3 (10), 1<sup>st</sup> century AD; rim of a thin walled ovoid beaker (11), middle to third quarter 1<sup>st</sup> century AD; upper part of a Fimalamp (12), 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD; handle and rim fragments of globular beakers, so-called 'olletta monoansata' (13-14), 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. (Scale 1/3)

was collected during both seasons. Unfortunately, the material is fragmented to such an extent that it is hard to recognize different types. Looking at the technique and the clay of the terra sigillata, most of them belong to North-Italian production centres, although some could be of Adriatic or another Italian origin.<sup>53</sup> A North-Italian rim of a dish with an applied volute decoration can be identified as a type Goudineau 28/Dragendorff 3 (fig. 14, 10). An Augustean-Tiberian date is possible, but there exists also a late production in the Flavian period.<sup>54</sup> Two upper wall fragments close to the rim with a profiled notch band are of the type Haltern 9/Goudineau 37 mainly from the Augustean period, but surviving until Claudius.<sup>55</sup> Different rims, wall fragments and some rare handles of thin walled ('pareti sottili') beakers reflect the variety of types within this category of fine ware. The rim and profiled upper wall of a thin walled ovoid beaker can be compared with an upper part found in the production centre of *Aesis*, and a complete example in Corinth, but they are not close parallels (fig. 14, 11).<sup>56</sup> The much occurring thin walled, one-handled globular beakers ('olletta monoansata' or 'boccalino monoansato dal corpo globulare'; fig. 14, 13-14), recognizable at their flaring rims and rounded or looping handles, display important differences in fabric. Remarkable is the use of a rather coarse orange-brown fabric, probably regional, for some of these beakers. This fabric occurs also in a wide range of table ware and small storage vessels that were found during the survey. Some beakers of this type could have an Aegean or Eastern origin.<sup>57</sup>

Only 4 lamps turned up, 3 of them are of the Fimalamp type (fig. 14, 12). The success of this North-Italian production, and their imitations, in the Western part of the Roman empire is well known. No bottoms with stamps (e.g. *Fortis*, *Fronto* etc.) were found.<sup>58</sup> The *unguentaria* belong

to 5 different types, but no satisfying parallels have been found yet.<sup>59</sup> Apparently the regional production (and import?) of this pottery group was prosperous just until the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. It would be most interesting to find out if *unguentaria* are valuable indicators of vanished rural cemeteries of the republican and imperial eras, although they also occur in settlement contexts. Among the categories of common pottery, some plain table vessels and cooking ware deserve attention. Quite a lot of casseroles (*caccabus*) of different types, sizes and fabrics, with or without handles, have the common feature of a flattened overhanging rim (fig. 15, 15-16). Recent research on material of sites and shipwrecks along the Adriatic coasts of Italy, Croatia and Slovenia prove a considerable import from the Aegean.<sup>60</sup> But it is clear that African imports and regional productions should not be underestimated, as good quality of cooking pots was requested. Since popular types of cooking- and tableware can last for ages, a chronological appreciation remains difficult. A fragment of a casserole rim with upstanding handle seems a rather rare type (fig. 15, 16).<sup>61</sup>

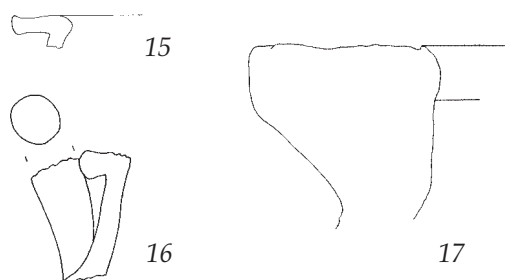
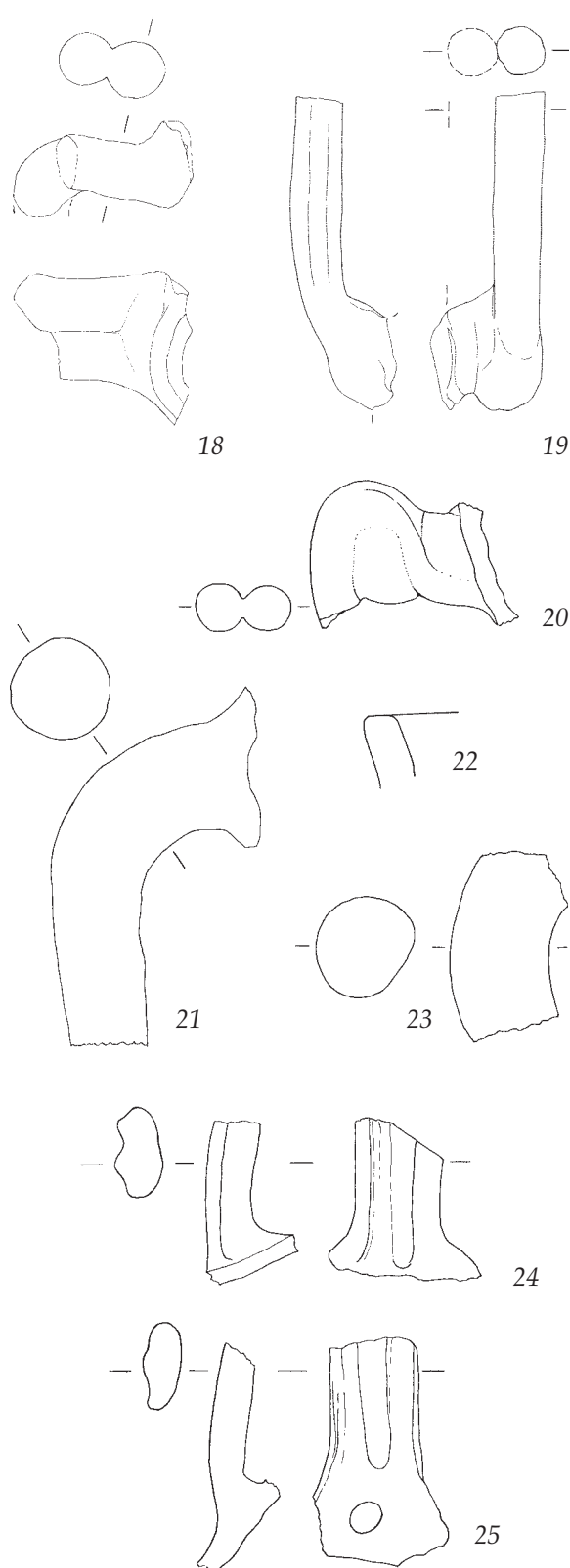


Fig. 15. Roman Imperial: common ware, casserole rims (15-16) and dolium (17), 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. (Scale 1/3)

Fig. 16. Roman Republican and Imperial: amphorae 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, Campanian Dressel 2-4 'black sand' (18); Dressel 2-4 Knossos 19 (19), probably Coan; Dressel 2-4 with clay application, probably local (20); Lamboglia 2 or Dressel 6A, Adriatic (21); Porto Recanati or amphora with funnel rim, probably local (22-23); Forlimpopoli, North-Italian (24-25). (Scale 1/3)

Lots of fragments of *dolia* and amphorae were discovered during the two seasons (fig. 15, 17). The *dolia* fragments have different sizes and fabrics. Some fabrics show a filler of silex chips, a feature that is also noticed for the coarse ware of the Iron Age. The complete shape of a type of *dolium* is known by two intact examples kept actually in the abbey of Fiastra, and presumably originating from *Urbs Salvia* or its surroundings. The fragments that were picked up recently and one of an earlier survey near Treia are of the same type.<sup>62</sup> The quantity and variety of amphorae that were recovered, is startling.<sup>63</sup> A number of wall, shoulder and handle fragments of the same amphora represents the oldest type that turned up, probably a late Greco-Italic type, although an early Lamboglia 2 or a Dressel 1C are also possible. The date ranges from the middle into the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>64</sup> Most of these amphorae were wine-containers from southern Italy (Apulia, Sicily, Campania). Dressel 1A and 1B from the Tyrrhenian coast regions are present, but because of their fragmentary state it is difficult to distinguish these subtypes and to date them more precisely. All these older types continued to be introduced in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, but from the last quarter of the century onwards Dressel 2-4 amphorae from different origins were coming up. Probably a little earlier the North-Italian Dressel 6A appeared, but again its fragmentary state makes it difficult to distinguish this type from the Lamboglia 2 amphorae (fig. 16, 21). Moreover local production on the Adriatic coast, among them certainly Picenean workshops, started to imitate Lamboglia 2 and Dressel 6A amphorae.<sup>65</sup> Brindisian olive-amphorae were not yet identified, but they must be present.<sup>66</sup> Another olive-amphora is the Istrian Dressel 6B, but again, nearly impossible to distinguish from Dressel 6A and late Lamboglia 2 amphorae, not to speak of the regional imitations. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD saw the explosion of amphorae import and regional copies. Hispanic imports of olive oil and fish-sauces from Baetica are attested by one Dressel 20 wall sherd and three Dressel 7-11 wall sherds.<sup>67</sup> Notwithstanding the important olive-oil





production in Istria and *Picenum*, Baetican mass produced olive-oil appeared in Adriatic regions to supply military installations in Ravenna, Aquileia and, above all, Pannonia. At the contrary Dressel 7-11 amphorae are rare. Their presence can be explained by the fact that Baetican fish-sauce was considered as a delicacy, but these amphorae also regularly accompanied in smaller numbers the cargos of Dressel 20, as is shown by many shipwrecks in the Mediterranean. Most puzzling is the variety of Dressel 2-4 wine-amphorae, with their typical bifid handles. The Knossos 19 subtype is of Aegean origin, most probably from Kos (fig. 16, 19).<sup>68</sup> A substantial upper part fragment and a knob in fine buff fabric belong to the Pompei 8-9 subtypes ('argilla B'), but the origin remains unknown.<sup>69</sup> A third subtype is represented by a 'black sand' handle fragment, visibly originating from the Vesuvian region (fig. 16, 18).<sup>70</sup> A very strange sub-type is formed by a group of 5 handles picked up only in the vicinity of Pioraco: for unknown reasons the upper part of the handle has a supplementary flattened clay slice, whereas a clay-ball is plugged in the interior part of the handle. Possibly they are local productions (fig. 16, 20). Only one parallel is known from the *villa suburbana* near *Potentia*.<sup>71</sup> At least 3 other types of bifid handles are part of a Dressel 2-4 type, but in this case only fabric analysis can bring new clues for the identification. It would be interesting to see if there are Adriatic, and more precisely Picenean copies.<sup>72</sup> It is well known by the ancient texts that Picenean wine had an excellent reputation.<sup>73</sup> Very common are Forlimpopoli amphorae and their imitations (fig. 16, 24-25). They are also the best represented amphora type in the eastern necropolis of *Potentia*.<sup>74</sup> Forlimpopoli amphorae are characterized by a light buff and fine clay, thin walls, strap and profiled handles and a flat base with a narrow footring. They are most probably the successors of the Dressel 6A and their new typology seems inspired by the Gauloise 4 type produced in *Gallia Narbonensis*. Gauloise 4 are attested in the Adriatic region but occur rarely.<sup>75</sup> Resembling types of the Forlimpopoli are produced in Umbria (Spello) and the Tiber Valley, so here again it is to hope that fabric analyses will help to make distinctions. Finally the fragments of amphorae with everted collar or funnel rim ('con collo' or 'orlo ad imbuto') need attention (fig. 16, 22-23). Lots of them are probably of *Picenean* origin. They are inspired by a combination of the North-Italian Dressel 6A and 6B, and the Baetican Haltern 70 types. They seem omnipresent in at least a part of the Marche, especially

in the eastern necropolis of *Potentia*, near actual Porto Recanati, the reason why T. Bezeczky called them amphorae of the Porto Recanati type.<sup>76</sup> The strange funnel-like rim points to a content of olives, possibly preserved in *defrutum* (a sort of liqueur), as *tituli picti* on Haltern 70 and its Gaulish imitations Augst 21 tell us.<sup>77</sup> Anyway, some years ago a small olive-pot with a *titulus pictus* mentioning *oliva picena* was discovered in the *vicus* Bliesbrück on the Rhine:<sup>78</sup> now we know that Picenean olives were exported even to *Germania Superior*!

### Building material

A variety of bricks and tiles occurs between the finds. Noteworthy was the discovery of lumps of an *opus spicatum* floor that were ploughed up on the site of a rural settlement near Treia. The floor was possibly part of the room of an olive- or wine-press (*torcularium*).<sup>79</sup> There must have been much imported tiles and bricks as well as local productions, as was already observed elsewhere in the Marche.<sup>80</sup> Although the meaning and the frequency of stamped tiles is unknown, there exists a wide variety of names of producers or owners of workshops in the Adriatic. When collating the 3 preserved letters found on a tile near Treia (see above) with some complete examples found in Ravenna, the name might be reconstructed as [C IVLI THIA]SI G[ALLICANI]. The second possibility, which we prefer, [P ABVDI RVFI] SIC[VLEIANI], a stamp on a tile found



28

Fig. 18. Roman Imperial: fragment of a tile with stamp [SI G] or [SI C], 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (28). (Scale 1/3)

during a prospection in Rivignano (Udine), that is in the territory of Aquileia. A third possibility is that [SIC] could point to the *gens Sicinia*, well known in the epigraphy of Treia. Of course it could also be a hitherto unknown stamp (fig. 18, 28). At any rate, a rarity when comparing with the much more occurring PANSIANA- and SOLONAS-stamps in the Potenza valley, and in *Picenum* in general. In Treia, a tile-stamp of CHRYSIPPUS was found during an earlier survey. At all events, the tile-stamps prove an intense trade of building-material produced in the Padana and Aquilean regions.<sup>81</sup> Stone building materials were also found during our fieldwalking: rarely marble, mostly sandstone (e.g. possibly one base of a small column) and limestone. On a late-medieval site near Treia, Roman *spolia* of marble and porphyry (e.g. *crustae*) were discovered.<sup>82</sup>

#### Other finds

With the exception of 3 coins,<sup>83</sup> not one metal object can be identified with certainty as Roman (e.g. 2 small bronze bells and a bronze finger-ring). One well-preserved bronze coin of Titus was minted during his eighth consulship, in 80 AD. It was discovered on an important Roman rural settlement near Treia. Some glass-finds are worthwhile mentioning. A greenish ring-base comes from a rather large but unidentified vessel (fig. 17, 26). A rim with groove of a white glass cup without foot resembles two examples found in a grave in S.Vittore di Cingoli, which is dated in the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (fig. 17, 27).<sup>84</sup>

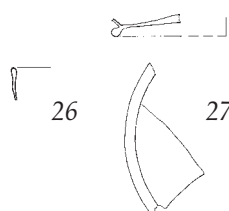


Fig. 17. Roman Imperial: rim of a white glass cup, early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (26); ring-base in greenish glass of an unidentified vessel (27). (Scale 1/3)

Several spheroid stone disks with a flat base might be interpreted as ancient weights.

#### - Late Antique and Medieval

There are some conspicuous finds of the Late Antique period. A small fragment of an African Red Slip dish with concentric circle and a palm-branch belong to the forms Hayes 59, 60 or 61 (fig. 19, 29).<sup>85</sup> Several other fragments of dishes can belong to the same African types, or to the

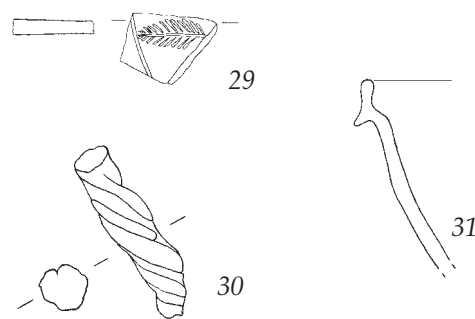


Fig. 19. Late Antique: fragment of an African Red Slip dish with palm-branch decoration, 4<sup>th</sup> to first half 5<sup>th</sup> century AD (29); handle of an African jug, 5<sup>th</sup> century AD (30); rim of an Eastern Red Slip mortarium, 4<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> century AD (31). (Scale 1/3)

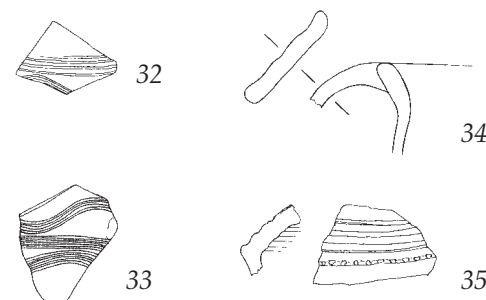


Fig. 20. Early and Late Medieval: wall sherds with incised wavy lines, 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century AD (32-33); rim and strap handle of plain ware (34), coarse ribbed wall fragment (35), 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century AD. (Scale 1/3)

types Hayes 86 and 181. A group of bowl rims belong to Hayes 99 (African) and Hayes 9 and 10 (Cypriot or Eastern). One has to take into account that there must occur many imitations, such as attested by the bottom of a dish with stamped rosettes. Sometimes the rim is profiled, while the wall can have incised decorations. A banded overhanging rim of a bowl or mortarium can be classified into an Eastern Sigillata group (fig. 19, 31).<sup>86</sup> Some piecrust ware needs a closer examination, just as the cooking ware and amphorae.<sup>87</sup> A twisted handle belongs to a jug of African origin (fig. 19, 30).<sup>88</sup> A small fragment of a lamp of the African type occurs, but no close parallel was found yet.<sup>89</sup> Most of the late antique material was picked up around Treia. It would be interesting to confront this material with the finds of the excavations that were carried out in the eighties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century under and near the abbey of SS. Crocifisso, situated in the centre

of ancient *Trea*.<sup>90</sup> Some wall sherds with incised wavy lines can be assigned to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD (fig. 20, 32-33). They represent a current decoration on common ware in Italy at the time.<sup>91</sup> Finally, a group of plain and coarse pottery of the 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries AD is not studied yet and needs further attention (fig. 20, 34-35).<sup>92</sup>

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#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> The project is directed by Prof. Frank Vermeulen and the principal archaeological investigators on the Belgian side include Miss Catharina Boullart and Mr. Patrick Monsieur (Department of Archaeology, Ghent University, Belgium). For the geomorphological aspects close collaboration is obtained with Prof. Morgan De Dapper and Dr. Beata De Vlieghe (Department of Geography, Ghent University). Italian institutions, such as the Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche and the Universities of Macerata and Camerino, actively support the programme.
- <sup>2</sup> A substantial grant was obtained from the Belgian Federal Government (IUAP phase V). Other financial support comes from the Fund of Scientific Research - Flanders and from Ghent University (BOF-funds).
- <sup>3</sup> Vermeulen & Boullart 2001.
- <sup>4</sup> We thank Jacques Semey who participated again in part of this aerial detection.
- <sup>5</sup> For preliminary reports on our aerial photography in the area see: Vermeulen & Boullart 2001 and Vermeulen 2002.
- <sup>6</sup> Unpublished small-scale excavation by Lollini (Soprintendenza delle Marche) in 1976. See also Percossi Serenelli 1985.
- <sup>7</sup> Intensive surveys are planned here in September 2002.
- <sup>8</sup> Bonomi Ponzi 1992.
- <sup>9</sup> For a first report see: Vermeulen & Boullart 2001.
- <sup>10</sup> We thank Morgan De Dapper for this view.
- <sup>11</sup> Vermeulen & Boullart 2001.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>13</sup> Lollini 1958, 204-205; Lollini 1976.

- <sup>14</sup> Moscatelli 1988.
- <sup>15</sup> Vermeulen & Boullart 2001.
- <sup>16</sup> The systematic study of the Stone Age material of the 2000-, the 2001- and the coming 2002-campaigns will take place in September 2002 by specialists in this field.
- <sup>17</sup> Vermeulen & Boullart 2001.
- <sup>18</sup> See: Lollini 1958, 204-205; Lollini 1976; Piangatelli 1970, p. 27.
- <sup>19</sup> Vermeulen & Boullart 2001.
- <sup>20</sup> Baldelli 1982, 143-145.
- <sup>21</sup> Lollini 1966, 210.
- <sup>22</sup> Lollini 1963, 322-323.
- <sup>23</sup> Vermeulen & Boullart 2001; Vermeulen 2002.
- <sup>24</sup> Moscatelli 1988; Bejor 1977.
- <sup>25</sup> Bejor 1977. See also: Mercado 1979 and Mercado, Brecciaroli & Paci 1981.
- <sup>26</sup> See also Vermeulen & Boullart 2001.
- <sup>27</sup> MacDonald 1995.
- <sup>28</sup> We thank especially our Italian colleagues M. Silvestrini, E. Percossi, F. di Gennaro, U. Moscatelli, M. Cerquetella and C. Corsi for the help they have already procured us in this identification process.
- <sup>29</sup> Prof. Ph. Cromb   of the prehistoric section at Ghent University will set to work in the third season (2002).
- <sup>30</sup> The study of these settlements is the object of doctoral research by C. Boullart.
- <sup>31</sup> J. Vankerckhove works on this black gloss material for an MA thesis.
- <sup>32</sup> H. Verreyke is engaged to study the pottery of Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, to prepare a PhD thesis on northern Adriatic ceramic production, distribution and use. She will focus on local production and imported cooking wares and will help to establish a program for a reference fabric study.
- <sup>33</sup> Mercado 1974 ; ead. 1974b; ead. 1979.
- <sup>34</sup> Falconi Amorelli 1975.
- <sup>35</sup> Work by prof. P. De Paepe.
- <sup>36</sup> Monsieur & De Paepe 2002.
- <sup>37</sup> Hayes 1983, 149, fig. 23, nrs. 58, 62, 63.
- <sup>38</sup> Mercado 1974a: graves 9, 54, 128bis, 216, 293, 305.
- <sup>39</sup> Panella 1986, 617-619, fig. 14-15; Slane 2000, 301, fig. 14, b.
- <sup>40</sup> We are indebted to J. Angenon and C. Braet for the drawings of the material presented here.
- <sup>41</sup> The identification of the lithic and ceramic material is due to the experience and knowledge of dott.ssa M. Silvestri for which we are most grateful.
- <sup>42</sup> Cf. Pignocchi 1998, fig. 1-8; Lollini 1965.
- <sup>43</sup> Vermeulen & Boullart 2002.
- <sup>44</sup> Lollini 1979; Silvestrini & Pignocchi 1999; cf. Malone & Stoddart 1994, 77-78, 120-122 and Barker 1995, 115-122 and 132-137.
- <sup>45</sup> S. Ginesio: *kyathos* with strap handle, Landolfi 1990, 92, pl. II, 3-4; Pitino di San Severino: stemmed cup with carinated wall and horned handles, handle-less stemmed cup with carinated wall, Lollini 1976 (grave 7) Annibaldi 1968, pl. VI (grave 5); Moie di Pollenza, grave 26 and Sirolo, graves 8 and 18: stemmed cups with carinated wall, Lollini 1985, fig. 5, 6, fig. 8, 4 and esp. fig. 16, 1; Numana, graves 14 and 18, and Sirolo, graves 435 and 18: *kantharoi* with strap handles, Lollini 1976, fig. 13 and pl. 118 and ead. 1985, fig. 7, 18, fig. 16, 4.
- <sup>46</sup> Grottazolina: grave 21, Lollini 1976, pl. 114 ; also *kyathos*: Falconi Amorelli 1975, pl. LXIX, 11 & LXXX, 30 (collezione Pallotta) .
- <sup>47</sup> Ancona: semi-glazed sherds, Lollini 1956, fig. 12; the finds in the lower levels beneath the amphitheatre of

- Ancona prove that this sort of semi-glazed pottery was produced just until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC: Pignocchi & Virzi Häggglund 1998, 137-138, fig. 7; S. Genesio: *oinochoe*, Landolfi 1990, 92, pl. II, 1; Numana: *oinochoe*, Lollini 1976, pl. 115; Sirolo: graves 435 and 8, *oinochoe*, Lollini 1985, fig. 7, 21 and fig. 11, A-B; cf. Barker 1995, 167, fig. 68; Falconi Amorelli 1975, pl. LXVI, 2 (collezione Pallotta).
- <sup>48</sup> We thank J. Vankerckhove for the useful information she already procured us.
- <sup>49</sup> Morel 1981, 256 and Pl. 91, the date proposed: until second quarter 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, seems quite late; cf. a resembling cup found in Valesio, dated 330/300-225/200: Yntema 1993, fig. 10, 35. This type of cups seems related to some examples salvaged from the *Grand Congloué I* ship, that sank around 200 BC: Long 1987, 12, fig. 1, 4 (first row, fifth from the left); a one handle cup of the same family Espèce 5920, Morel 1981, 391, pl. 193, is dated end 4<sup>th</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.
- <sup>50</sup> Morel 1981, 303-314, Genre 4300, pl. 126-133: *skyphoi* seem to disappear around the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC; our fragment is too worn to distinguish a specific type.
- <sup>51</sup> Morel 1981, 412 and pl. 205. The colony of *Potentia* was founded in 184 BC. The *Oppii* were amongst the most influential families at that time (Percossi Serenelli 2001, 45, fig. 11); see also the monumental inscription of Porto San Elpidio and the commercial activities of the *Oppii*: Paci 1998.
- <sup>52</sup> Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998; for the black gloss found in *Potentia* and its chronology, see Mercado 1974b, 411-413, and Frapicinni 2001.
- <sup>53</sup> Mazzeo Saracino 1985 (Atlante II), 175-230; Pucci 1985 (Atlante II), 359-406; Maggi & Starac 2000; for the spreading of Italian sigillata in the North-Adriatic region: Makjanic 1988.
- <sup>54</sup> Mazzeo Saracino 1985 (Atlante II), 202-203, forma 1 (pl. LXII, nrs. 13-14), compare also Pucci 1985 (Atlante II), 382-383, forma IX, esp. varietà 7, 13 & 15; cf. Malone & Stoddart 1994, 200, n° 17.
- <sup>55</sup> Mazzeo Saracino 1985 (Atlante II), 197-198, forma 12 (pl. LVIII, esp. n° 3), from typological point of view this little cup corresponds with the Dragendorff 26-type; Mercado 1979, 274, fig. 184, h.
- <sup>56</sup> Hayes 1973, n° 185, pl. 89; Ricci 1985 (Atlante II), 258-259, tipo 1/135: Claudian-Neronian. Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 206, n° 562. An example of the eastern cemetery of *Potentia* belongs probably to the same group: Mercado 1974a: grave 85. This cemetery yielded a lot of different types of thin walled pottery: Mercado 1974a, passim; for a production-centre in the Marche of grey thin walled cups: Montinori 1993.
- <sup>57</sup> Marabini 1973, 146-147; Ricci 1985 (Atlante II), 266-267, tipo 1/109 & 1/111: from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD on; Mercado 1974a, passim; Aegean or Eastern origin in Aquileia: Mandruzzato, Tiussi & Degrassi 2000, 360, fig. 4, n° 2; Istenic & Schneider 2000, 343 & fig. 3, 2: for the eastern necropolis of *Potentia*, see esp. n. 38.
- <sup>58</sup> Eastern cemetery of *Potentia*: Mercado 1974a, passim and 416-417, and especially Ramadori 2001; Mercado 1974b: San Severino, grave 1; Mercado 1979, 242, fig. 153, a-b, 257, fig. 167, a, 264, fig. 175, d; Falconi Amorelli 1975, pl. LXXIV, 33-35 (collezione Pallotta).
- <sup>59</sup> Falconi Amorelli 1975, pl. LXXIII, 25-30.
- <sup>60</sup> Eastern cemetery of *Potentia*: Mercado 1974a, grave 128bis with a Firmalamp and a Knossos 19 amphora, second half of 1<sup>st</sup> century AD; Aegean import: Istenic & Schneider 2000, and fig. 1 for the map with sites and shipwrecks; Robinson 1959, passim.
- <sup>61</sup> Compare with Robinson 1959, F84 (pl. 3), in a 1<sup>st</sup> century AD context.
- <sup>62</sup> Fabrini & Paci 1991, 95-96, n° 22, with bibliography: a date in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD is proposed. A survey carried out formerly by U. Moscatelli produced a rim fragment: Moscatelli 1988, 35-36, n° 2, fig. 17, 2.
- <sup>63</sup> For an overview of the different types of amphorae in the Northern Adriatic: Bevezcky 1987; Carre 1985; Cipriano & Carre 1989; Toniolo 1991; Delplace 1993. See also Pasquinucci, Menchelli & Scotucci 2000, 355-356, for the region of *Asculum* and *Firmum Picenum*.
- <sup>64</sup> Toniolo 1991, 15-16, fig. 2. Greco-Italic: Eastern cemetery of *Potentia*, grave 116, Mercado 1974a, fig. 116, b, but with a puzzling date in the Augustean age; Greco-Italic: Ancona, Pignocchi & Virzi Häggglund 1998, fig. 11, 1, together with Lamboglia 2 amphorae; San Severino Marche: Lamboglia 2, Perna 1996-1997; in 2001, when visiting the Archaeological Museum of Assisi, we noticed two Dressel 1C amphorae, having a very resembling fabric, shoulder inclination and strap handles, cf. Toniolo 1991, 15-16, fig. 4.
- <sup>65</sup> Bevezcky 1987, 6-21; Toniolo 1991, 18-24; Carre 1985, 209-226; Cipriano & Carre 1989, 77-88 eastern necropolis of *Potentia*: graves 122 and 229 (Mercado 1974a, possible Picenean imitations); *villa suburbana* near *Potentia*: Mercado 1979, 184-187, fig. 99-102, fig. 138, a, fig. 141, j, fig. 157, y (possible Picenean imitations); Picenean production centre: Brecciaroli Taborelli 1984; cf. Delplace 1993.
- <sup>66</sup> Cipriano & Carre 1989: 68-74.
- <sup>67</sup> Dressel 20: Cambi 1976; Bevezcky 1987, 24-25; Toniolo 1991; Dressel 7-11; Bevezcky 1987, 22-23; Toniolo 1991, 31-33, fig. 26 (Dressel 20), fig. 27 (Dressel 7-11).
- <sup>68</sup> See introduction and n. 13; no other Greek amphorae have been recognized yet among the survey material but they must exist as is shown in the Comacchio-wreck (Berti, 1985, amphorae from Kos and Chios), or in the eastern necropolis of *Potentia* (Mercado 1974a, graves 40 and 52, Dressel 43 Crete); Cordano 1992-1993: hellenistic stamps on Rhodian amphorae in Ancona.
- <sup>69</sup> Panella & Fano 1986.
- <sup>70</sup> Panella & Fano 1986.
- <sup>71</sup> Mercado 1979, fig. 149, r.
- <sup>72</sup> Aldini 1978, 242-243, fig. 3 and pl. 91: Forlimpopoli, workshop Terreno Dotti, together with flat-bottomed Forlimpopoli type amphorae; Tchernia 1986, 252-253; Panella 1989, fig. 5-6.
- <sup>73</sup> Tchernia 1986, 336-337 and 348-349.
- <sup>74</sup> Aldini 1978: basic study of the workshops in Forlimpopoli; Tchernia 1986, 249-256; Panella 1989, 156-161; eastern necropolis of *Potentia*: graves 8, 7, 10, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 40, 47, 49, 52, 93, 128, 293 and 306, Mercado 1974a; San Severino Marche: grave 2, Mercado 1974b.
- <sup>75</sup> Bevezcky 1987, 26; Toniolo 1991, 36, fig. 34.
- <sup>76</sup> Bevezcky 1987, 34-36; eastern necropolis of *Potentia*: graves 8, 24, 25, 46, 47, 49, 50, 58, 93 and 293, Mercado 1974a; San Severino Marche: grave 3, Mercado 1974b; *villa suburbana* near *Potentia*: Mercado 1979, fig. 138, b, fig. 139, a-b, fig. 157, x, fig. 176-177; Carre 1985, 232-234; cf. Cipriano & Carre 1989, 85-87; Brecciaroli Taborelli 1984, 73-88.
- <sup>77</sup> Monsieur 2001, with bibliography.
- <sup>78</sup> Albrecht 1998; Monsieur 2001, 182.



- <sup>79</sup> This is true for the rural settlement that came to light in S. Giovanni in Strada di Offida (AP), Pignocchi 1998, fig. 1. Cf. the *villa suburbana* near *Potentia*, Mercado 1979, 189, fig. 107.
- <sup>80</sup> E.g. *Asculum* and *Firmum Picenum*, Pasquinucci, Menchelli & Scotucci 2000, 356: among the finds of the Potenza Valley Survey the yellowish color of some bricks and tiles could also indicate local production.
- <sup>81</sup> Matijasac 1983; Mercado 1974a, fig. 335-341; Mercado 1979, fig. 117, n, fig. 159 and 160; Pasquinucci, Menchelli & Scotucci 2000, 364-365; Pelliconi 1983, for *Gallicanus* cf. 234-235, n° 22.53; another tile with also a [SIC] stamp was already found in the neighbourhood of Treia: Moscatelli & Paci 1978, 74; *Siculeius*: Buiatti 1994, 426-431; *gens Sicinia*: Marengo 2000, 162; *Chrysippus* in Treia: Moscatelli 1988, 55, fig. 47.
- <sup>82</sup> Monte del Crocifisso (site WF63): the porphyry-fragment was studied by prof. P. De Paepe, and he considers it as very close to Egyptian examples; in this light it is interesting to remind the existence of an important *Serapeum* in Treia: cf. Fabrini 1990, 160-175.
- <sup>83</sup> Dr. J. Van Heesch, responsible for the Roman numismatic collection of the Royal Library in Brussels, will study the Roman coins, those of the later periods will be studied by L. Beekmans.
- <sup>84</sup> Mercado 1974b, 111-123, fig. 34 and 38, d-e: grave 5.
- <sup>85</sup> Hayes 1972, fig. 38: palm-branch style A, 4th to first half 5th century AD.
- <sup>86</sup> Dishes and bowls: Hayes 1972; Dall'Aglia & De Maria 1994-1995, fig. 45; cf. Williams 1989, fig. 12-14; banded overhanging rim: the right inclination is not certain, compare Hayes 1972, form 3, Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, fig. 106, 532, and Williams 1989, fig. 22, 269 and fig. 42, 448 (although a common ware mortar rim); Grazia Maioli 1983, imitations in Ravenna, esp. 111-112, nrs. 4.87 and 4.88 for the dishes with stamped rosettes close to form Hayes 53.
- <sup>87</sup> Piecrust ware: cf. Williams 1989, 53-54, fig. 27-28; cooking ware: cf. introduction; amphorae: some spikes of the *Africana* grande type and 1 spatheion are already identified, cf. Mercado 1974a, grave 252 and ead. 1979, fig. 120, q and fig. 182.
- <sup>88</sup> Santamaria 1995, fig. 21, 5th century AD; Mercado 1979, fig. 147, b and fig. 162, j.
- <sup>89</sup> The remains of a XR or IX monogram on it is almost certain. For other Late Antique lamps, cf. Mercado 1979, fig. 119, a and fig. 181; Fabrini 1990, 127, fig. 3.
- <sup>90</sup> Fabrini 1990, 125-131.
- <sup>91</sup> Ravenna: Gelichi 1983, id. 1998 (pots 'tipo Classe'); Toscana: Ciampoltrini 1998, fig. 5 (jugs); Rome, Crypta Balbi: Ricci 1998, fig. 6-8 (cooking pots and tubs); Southern Italy: Di Giuseppe & Capelli 1998, fig. 7 (various shapes 'dipinta'), fig. 8 (various shapes 'acroma').
- <sup>92</sup> From the hill-site Monte del Crocifisso (WF63), see also n. 55; material: cf. Barker 1995, 258-262, fig. 98.
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# The Nemrud Dağ Project: first interim report

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- 1 Introduction
  - 2 Previous research on Nemrud Dağ
  - 3 A short description of the monument
    - 3.1 The East Terrace
      - 3.1.1 Lay-out and architectural elements
      - 3.1.2 The colossal statues
      - 3.1.3 The stelae and sculptures in tuffit
      - 3.1.4 Ancestor stelae and altars
    - 3.2 The West Terrace
      - 3.2.1 Lay-out and architectural elements
      - 3.2.2 The colossal statues
      - 3.2.3 The stelae and sculptures in tuffit
      - 3.2.4 Ancestor stelae and altars
    - 3.3 The North Terrace
    - 3.4 Building materials
    - 3.5 Preservation, construction and technique
      - 3.5.1 The stelae
      - 3.5.2 The colossal statues
      - 3.5.3 The nomos inscription and other texts
  - 4 The Amsterdam University research
    - 4.1 The SIS (with Tesse Stek & Ellen Thiermann)
      - 4.1.1 Goals
      - 4.1.2 How to use the SIS
      - 4.1.3 Block drawings
    - 4.2 Some new observations
      - 4.2.1 Cosmological orientation?
      - 4.2.2 The Lion horoscope: proposal for a new dating (Maurice Crijns)
      - 4.2.3 Chronology: a new dating frame?
      - 4.2.4 The lower ensemble on the East Terrace
      - 4.2.5 The 'Fire Altar' on the East Terrace: true or false
      - 4.2.6 The West Terrace in its oldest shape
      - 4.2.7 The sequence of the colossal statues
      - 4.2.8 Style and iconography
    - 4.3 The pilot survey (with Anne ten Brink)
      - 4.3.1 Introduction
      - 4.3.2 Results
      - 4.3.3 Conclusion
    - 4.4 Epigraphic research (Onno van Nijf & Marlies Schipperheijn)
  - 5 Outlook for the next years
- Bibliography/Abbreviations



Fig. 1. Kommagene (after Wagner 2000).



## 1 INTRODUCTION

The International Nemrud Foundation (hereafter INF), established in 1998, has worked for a couple of years to obtain a permit from the Turkish Government to carry out archaeological research on and around the monument of Antiochos I of Kommagene on the mountain of Nemrud Dağ in the province of Adıyaman, Southeastern Anatolia, Turkey. The main aim of the Foundation is to protect the monument from further deterioration and destruction as well as to reconstruct the colossal statue groups and some of the relief stelae on the East and West Terraces. In view of the ambitious aims of the project it was deemed necessary to make a new documentation of the remains on the mountain and to study the possibility of a virtual reconstruction.

After a permit had been granted by the Turkish Ministry of Culture to the University of Amsterdam, a team from the Amsterdam Archaeological Centre of this university started research on the

14<sup>th</sup> of July 2001, the same day as represented on the famous Lion horoscope on the West Terrace (see pp. 97-99). The team was composed of archaeologists, epigraphists, geodesists, construction and AutoCAD engineers.<sup>1</sup>

The 2001 research had several goals. In view of the project's overall goals of preservation and restoration most energy was spent to obtain a documentation as complete as possible, the so-called SIS (Site Information System), which may serve to both students and restorers in the future. Archaeologists could profit from this system for their research. At first impression such a basic documentation of the site might seem redundant, as an impressive monograph of the site was published in 1996 presenting the results of the American excavations directed by Theresa B. Goell in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's.<sup>2</sup> However, Goell's results and documentation proved to be problematic in several ways. Besides, we expect that new technology (especially the laser scan) could yield a more fundamental documentation

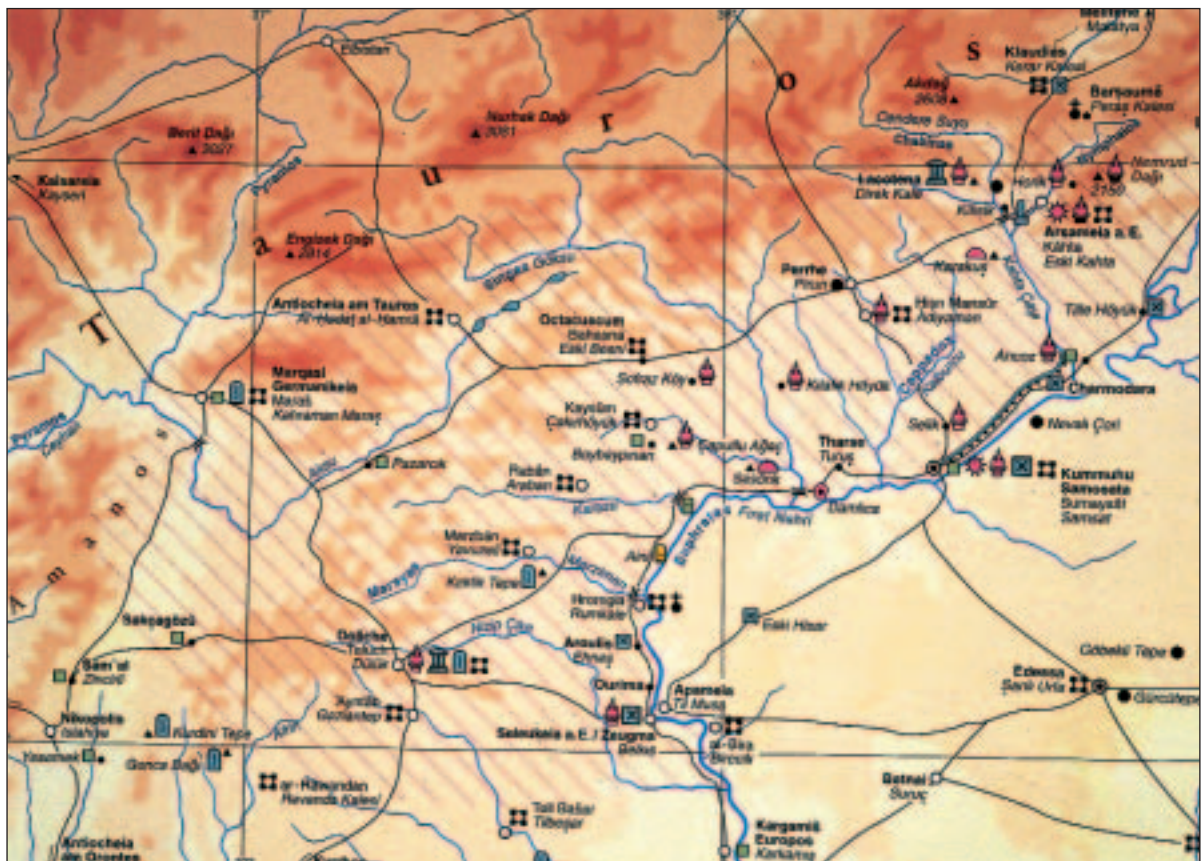


Fig. 2. Map of ancient Kommagene showing the most important archaeological sites (after Wagner 2000).

of the site than hitherto provided. We had, therefore, to review critically the work of Goell for the compilation of our SIS; our impressions will be published over the next years with the intention to serve as a kind of review article of Sanders 1996.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, though concentrating on the terraces and statues proper, the Amsterdam research also made a modest start with the study of the direct context of the monument, i.e. the area of the mountain below the tumulus and terraces. Therefore, we surveyed a part of this area, first of all to see if there were any stray finds that could provide new information for understanding the monument. There is, for instance, a remarkable absence of pottery from the monument itself that could have been preserved on the mountain's slopes. Moreover, we know that this area was incorporated in the conception of the monument by means of guarding animals and entrance stelae. A second aim was to look if a more extensive field survey is feasible.

It has often been noted that despite the unique character of the monument, and the fact that it is one of Turkey's most important archaeological monuments, our understanding of the site, and the state of our documentation are relatively poor. The low interest shown in the site by Classical and Oriental archaeologists, may well be due to the fact that it blends Graeco-Roman and Persian elements, as was suggested by Goell. However, it would seem that Goell herself was partly responsible also, on account of her long delay in publishing the results of her research. For these reasons we felt obliged to provide a detailed account of our intentions, working methods and results on a yearly basis. The results and insights of the campaigns will thus be published each following year in this periodical. These interim reports, offering work in progress and provisional conclusions, will form the base of our final publication. Obviously, only at that time final conclusions will be formulated.

## 2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON NEMRUD DAĞ

The remains on Nemrud Dağ, a hill majestically overlooking the anti-Taurus, were discovered in 1881 by the German engineer Karl Sester.<sup>4</sup> Until that time Kommagene was no more than a name known from historical sources only, studied by the Leiden classicist David Jacobus van Lennep in his 1828 PhD and by Theodor Mommsen in an article of 1876 (*fig. 1*).<sup>5</sup> Two short German expeditions by Sester and Otto Puchstein in 1882 and

by Karl Humann and Puchstein in 1883 and one Ottoman exploration by Osman Hamdi Bey and Osgan Effendi in 1883 made the monument famous to the world of archaeology at once. The two teams made thorough descriptions of the visible remains and concentrated on the collection of the epigraphic material, especially the large inscription in Greek on the backs of the colossi that informs us about the monument, its use and the intentions of its founder (the *nomos* inscription, *figs. 26-27*). Although they do not provide a synthesis, their work remains fundamental.

It took some decades before more thorough investigations started. The German scholar Friedrich Karl Dörner wrote his PhD on Kommagene and travelled to the area from 1939 onwards. He was to become the discoverer or explorer of the main other sites in Kommagene such as the ancestor grave and royal summer residence Arsameia at the Nymphaios (discovered by Dörner in 1953) and the tumuli – *hierothersia* – of Karakuş and Arsameia at the Euphrates.<sup>6</sup> Between 1953 and 1973, the American archaeologist Theresa B. Goell conducted a large number of campaigns on Nemrud Dağ.<sup>7</sup> Both scholars made restorations and reconstructions of various elements of this complex. The primary aim of Goell's first campaigns was to clear the terraces from the debris, in order to understand the organisation of space. Members of her team worked on aspects like the statuary remains and all fragments of sculpture and epigraphy found during the clearance. The main outcome of Goell's work is that the West and East Terraces were pendants, that contained more or less the same elements. Afterwards, her work focused more and more on the discovery of the tomb of Antiochos, mentioned in the inscription at the back of the statues, Antiochos' *nomos*.

The pioniering efforts of Dörner and Goell generated a series of other studies on Nemrud Dağ, usually from a historical or epigraphic point of view; such as the studies by Helmut Waldmann and Sencer Şahin.<sup>8</sup> An important contribution to the debate was made by Jörg Wagner who made the whole region of Kommagene, its history and its archaeological monuments from various periods to his field of study, thereby broadening the background against which a monument like Nemrud Dağ should be studied (*fig. 2*).<sup>9</sup>

The German and Turkish pioneers of the 1880's were only able to document the visible remains, which they did very well considering the circumstances. They lacked the means to remove the thick layers of gravel from the remains which had rolled down from the tumulus that crowns the

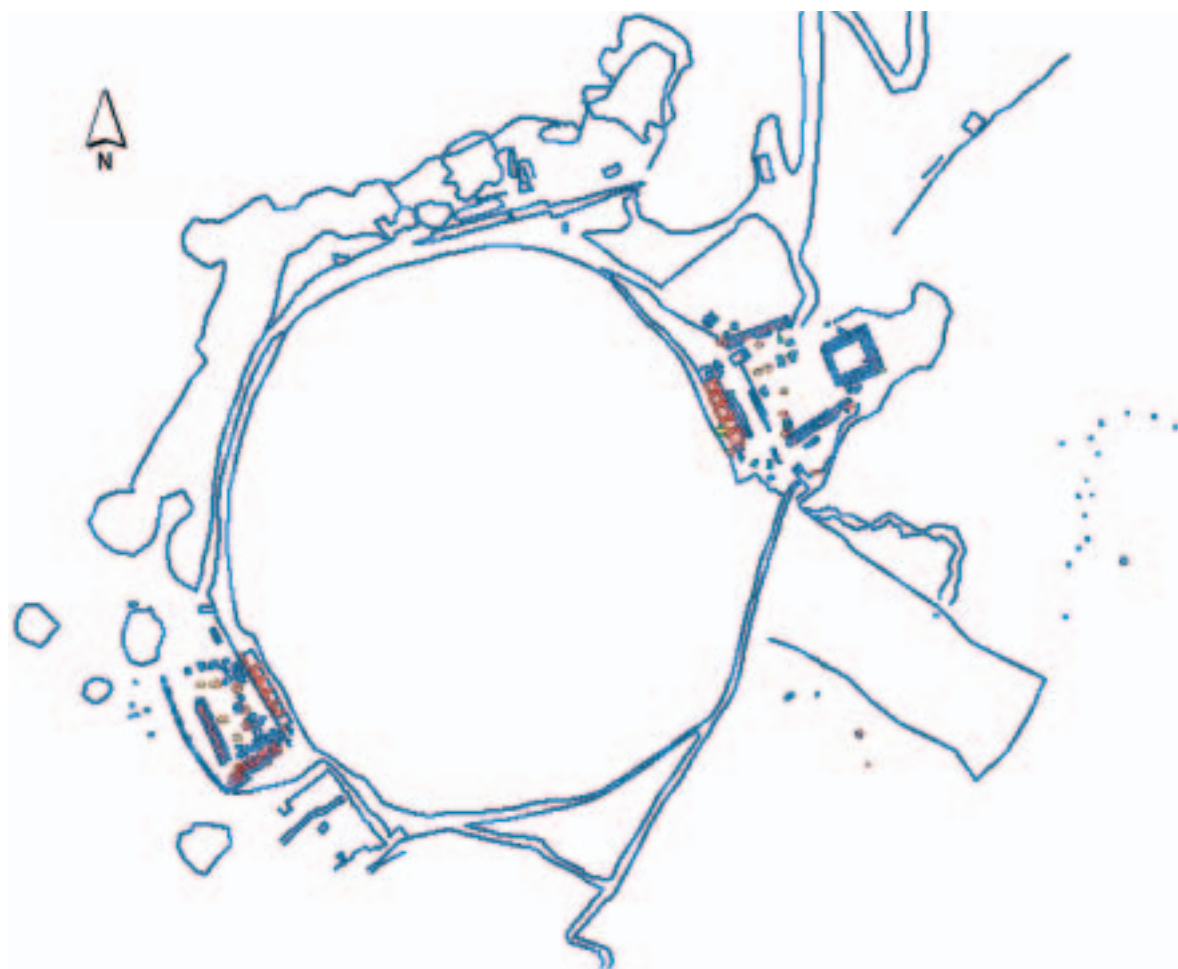


Fig. 3. Nemrud Dağ: topographical map of the monument (© INF).

mountain. Their maps, therefore show big blank spots. Dörner did not carry out excavations, but published many important observations. Goell, on the other hand, turned every stone in her quest to find the 'truth' about the monument.<sup>10</sup> She has worked longer on the mountain than any other scholar, but unfortunately she only published short reports, and popular articles, that contained little information on the scope of her project, her working methods, or the result of the project. Her many notes and drafts were collected and published posthumously by Donald Sanders in 1996 (Sanders 1996). In fact this important volume forms the basis for further investigations of the monument.

Before presenting the Amsterdam research and offering some new hypotheses concerning the history and interpretation of the monument, we give a short description of it.

### 3 A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT

The monument - named *hierotheresion* in the large inscription on the back of the colossi - consists of a tumulus flanked at three sides by terraces. The tumulus 'erected' on top of Nemrud Dağ suggests the presence of the tomb of Antiochos as mentioned in the inscription. It is formed of the original mountain, partly topped and hewn off on its surface and a covering layer of gravel. Small square terraces were constructed to hold the gravel.<sup>11</sup> The height of the tumulus is about 50 metres (fig. 3).

The workers started with cutting off the north-west flank between the North and the West Terraces. Subsequently the gravel that was produced this way was transported to 'deposits', viz. the slopes between the two terraces mentioned. Then they constructed artificial terraces and



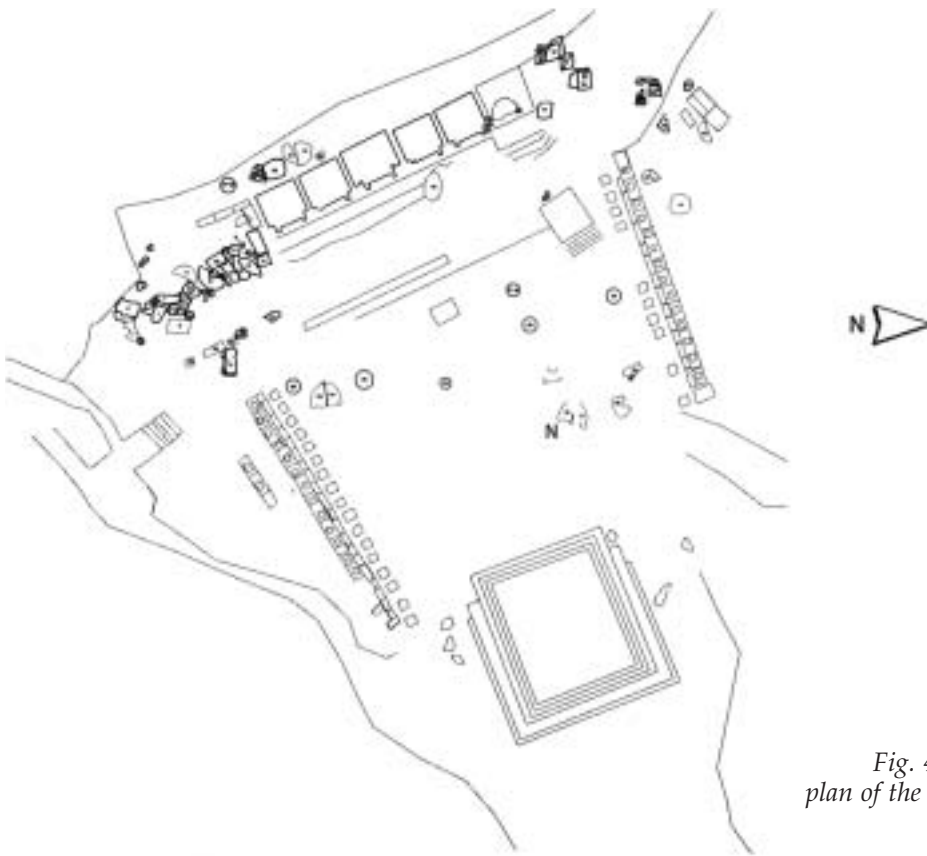


Fig. 4. Nemrud Dağ,  
plan of the East Terrace (© INF).

started chopping the top. The gravel was spread out towards the lower layers and was partly kept in place by the artificial banks.<sup>12</sup> The deposits were used to backfill the empty spaces. The part of the mountain still standing at the south side of the West Terrace was not entirely used for the gravel production. It was, however, gradually topped of as can be seen from cuttings in the rock. Maybe some kind of platform was constructed. The large amount of gravel still visible at the south side is an extension of the tumulus.

As has become clear, mainly from Tom Utecht's research, the tomb is probably not located in the tumulus itself but either under it or at some place in the vicinity.<sup>13</sup> At four sides Goell made holes into the mountain to discover the tomb. The results of explosions with dynamite are clearly observable behind the colossi on the East and the West Terraces.

In the description of the terraces, we will each time first describe the setting itself, before shortly introducing the architectural elements. Matters of specific interest deserving more attention, like, for instance, the colossal statues will be treated in separate paragraphs. We have tried to keep the

text as descriptive as possible, largely drawing on the information provided by the work of Goell and our own observations in the field. Our critical discussion of several aspects and some new hypothesis can be found in paragraph 4.2.

### 3.1 The East Terrace

#### 3.1.1 Lay-out and architectural elements

The East Terrace is a rectangular area that has been flattened by cutting off part of the mountain. At the west side it is bordered by a stepped area cut out from the rock. On top of this, on a second plateau largely also hewn out from the mountain, the colossal statues are erected. On the east side border, opposite to this ensemble, Goell has reconstructed a stepped structure in tuffit; the so-called fire altar. She did so on the basis of the presence of stepped structures at the north and south and a retaining wall at the east, already seen by Humann and Puchstein (see further paragraph 4.2.5). At the south side a steep mountain slope begins; to the north there is a path leading to the North Terrace (fig. 4).





Fig. 5. Nemrud Dağ, East Terrace, overview (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).

At the south side of the terrace there is an entrance: eleven steps (of which nine are preserved) have been cut out in the living rock. The rest of the stair makes five turnings of 90° as one can observe in the cutting of the rock downwards the slope. The precise form cannot be reconstructed unless by voiding the space from the masses of gravel. A small platform, in line with the eleven steps, seems to command the progression of the stair. The main entrance to the terrace seems to have been at the north-east side: a so-called procession road, *hiera hodos*, ended just below the terrace at this side. The existence of this road is certain by the find of an inscribed entrance stele on the slope, besides one can still see part of the path hewn out from the rock.

Bases for stelae and corresponding altars in front of them line the north and south borders of the terrace (see further paragraph 3.1.4).

Goell reported the presence of various tuffit animals on the terrace. She reconstructed the presence of two pairs of an eagle and a lion on or at the so-called fire altar. Nowadays a lion (186 cm H) standing next to the stepped structure and fragments of two eagles along the slope rest from this adornment. The passway to the North Terrace would also have been decorated with a large eagle of tuffit. No remains of this are visible anymore.

Lastly, it must be noted that the whole setting is irregular and that there are no precise axes and

square angles used; as already remarked by Wolfram Hoepfner who suggests that a certain 'Naturnähe' was looked for (fig. 5).<sup>14</sup>

### 3.1.2 The colossal statues

Main feature of the East Terrace is a row of nine colossal statues: five statues of (semi-)gods flanked at both sides by a lion/eagle pair. The podium on which the colossal statues stand has two steps in front, hewn out from the rock. At the north there are three steps, probably to be combined with those found by Goell at the terrace itself and leading to the reconstruction of stairs. The extreme south and north sides of this podium have been damaged and the statues of the lion and the eagle at the south and that of the lion at the north have completely tumbled down (figs. 5-6).

At the back of the statues a path of 3.5 m width has been spared out. By this way the *nomos*, inscribed on the lower blocks of the statues, could be reached. The path runs behind the statues along the west side, not only giving access to those who wanted to read the inscriptions on the backs of the statues, but maybe also used for other purposes in the rituals (fig. 7).

The largest figure, Zeus-Oromasdes, stands in the centre. He is flanked by Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes and Artagnes-Herakles on his left and Kommagene and Antiochos on his right (for this



*Fig. 6. Nemrud Dağ East Terrace, the colossal statues (2001, photo T.D. Stek).*



*Fig. 7. Nemrud Dağ East Terrace, the back of the colossal statues with the path (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).*



sequence of the statues cf. further section 4.2.7). The different statues are named in the *nomos* inscription.<sup>15</sup> At both ends a standing eagle and a squatting lion have been placed.

The figures are seated on huge thrones, their feet resting on footstools standing between the throne's legs. They do not show any movement; Zeus and Kommagene only have the right foot set forward. The statue of Zeus protrudes some 21 cm in respects to the other figures. The pairs of animals share their base and are worked in the round. The colossi have a basis of their own, formed by the feet of the throne and the footstool in front.<sup>16</sup> The backs are summarily rendered. The lower three tiers, bearing the inscription, are plain flat walls. The upper layers have rounded outlines and show no details. The coarseness of the modelling of the bodies contrasts to the precise and detailed working of the heads (figs. 8-9).

The five figures of (semi-)gods are composed of seven or eight horizontal tiers of limestone blocks, from bottom to top: 1) footstool; 2) feet and legs until lower edge of tunic; 3) legs up to knees clad in long garment; 4) lap and forearms; 5) breast and upper arms; 6) shoulders; 7) head; 8) top gear. Tiers 6-8 are monolithic. The eighth level includes Kommagene's *kalathos*, the tips of the *tiaras* of Zeus and Apollo, whereas Herakles lacks such an extra layer. The other tiers can be variously composed of two or more blocks.

The five lower layers of the colossi are still intact. The figure of Kommagene has, apart from her *kalathos* lying in front of the lower plateau, been preserved completely, until it came down, according to Goell probably by lighting, between 1963 and 1967. The head and fragments of the back now lie behind the statues. Here is also standing the head of Antiochos. The heads of the other figures and blocks belonging to the animals are scattered over the East Terrace.

The dress of the figures is barely detailed and shows few folds apart from the shoulders where the tips of the mantle have been put together with a buckle. The male dress is oriental: boots, trousers, long-sleeved tunic and cloak. Kommagene has the Greek *chiton* and *himation*, of which some folds are indicated near the knees. The mouths are parted and the eyes are suggested to look upward, showing a certain degree of (Hellenistic) pathos. The male gods' tunics end below the knees and a tip of the mantle is indicated by one fold at the sides of the feet. Other folds can be seen in the lap and (diagonally) on the breast. Kommagene's long dress falls down between the legs and its drapery fills this space. The feet are shod in sum-



Fig. 8. Nemrud Dağ, East Terrace, statue of Zeus, upper part as standing (2001, photo T.D. Stek).



Fig. 9. Nemrud Dağ, East Terrace, statue of Zeus, head lying on the terrace (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).



*Fig. 10. Nemrud Dağ, East Terrace, the statues of Zeus (partly, left), Apollo, Herakles and Eagle (2001, photo T.D. Stek).*

marily worked boots with laces and lappets. Kommagene has her hair parted in the middle and combed backwards. Her ears are adorned with long earrings. She is crowned with a thick wreath composed of corn poppies in the centre and fruits, mainly pomegranates and grapes to the sides. A veil covers the back of the head and a *kalathos*, now standing on the terrace, was once on top of the head.

Antiochos, Zeus and Apollo have a bundle of weed, the so-called barsom in their left hand on their laps.<sup>17</sup> Herakles sports his club with his left hand against his shoulder and Kommagene does the same with the cornucopia. Her right hand holds a bunch of fruit in her lap.

The heads look brighter of colour than the rest of the figures (this colour is also predominant on the West Terrace), which may be due to the different processes of weathering. The heads of Herakles, Kommagene and the northern eagle show numerous small cavities in the surface caused by algae.

*Fig. 11. Nemrud Dağ, East Terrace, statue of Apollo, head standing on the terrace (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).*







*Fig. 12. Nemrud Dağ, East Terrace, the statues of Antiochos (left) and Kommagene (2001, photo T.D. Stek).*



*Fig. 13. Nemrud Dağ, East Terrace, the forepaws of the southern side Lion (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).*

The two eagles are represented standing erect, with the large feet with five toes protruding over the base. Feathers are not indicated and the birds' surface is entirely smooth. The heads look grim with - as it were - a frown created by a bulging piece of flesh over the inner corners of the well-articulated almond-shaped eyes. The lions are seated on their hind legs; the tail is curled at the outside of the row, over the paw of these legs. The forepaws show four toes and are adorned with a metal ring (*fig. 13*). The mane is carefully worked on the breast between the legs and on the head and back. Both heads are badly damaged but look similar to those preserved on the West Terrace: rather friendly, with open fangs, tongue jutting out and upper row of teeth visible.

### *3.1.3 The stelae and sculptures in tuffit*

A podium has been cut out of the rock in front of the statues. In front there are tuffit steps made from blocks placed against the prepared rock.

Goell reconstructed three steps. Sanders however, in his examination of Goell's evidence, gives the number of two steps and proposes good arguments to support his view.<sup>18</sup> Goell reported that fragments of large stelae similar to those on the West Terrace have been found. She offers a reconstruction of a Lion horoscope and of the four *dexiosis* stelae in front of the statues on one of the tuffit steps (see section 3.2.3). At the southern side of the podium four sockets for stelae have been hewn out in the rock; the third from the south is twice as large as the others. Reasoning from the find of fragments of a stele showing a coronation found on the podium, Goell reconstructed five so-called *stephanophoros* stelae. She interpreted this coronation scene as the transmission of power by Mithradates I to Antiochos; Sanders suggests a similar ceremony, but with Antiochos and Mithradates II as protagonists.<sup>19</sup> The rock behind the platform with the stelae has been left unworked, maybe because it remained invisible behind the large orthostates.

At the north side of the podium a flight of nine steps in tuffit has been constructed by Goell, based on a protrusion in the lower line of steps. It is situated in line with a stepped structure hewn out in the rock at the top, in front of the base for the right eagle and lion. The blocks may belong to the podium structure; it can no longer be checked. At the south one step is constructed in the same way; but as far as we can see now, there is no flight of stairs at this side.<sup>20</sup>

In front of the podium Goell reconstructed a so-called 'sacrificial block altar' parts of which are still in situ. The supposed altar is made from tuffit blocks and slabs, material that lays scattered all over the area. Sanders already notes that this structure might not be original. The find of ashes and other material in the structure suggests that local shepherds built the structure for own use from blocks and slabs lying around.<sup>21</sup>

#### 3.1.4 Ancestor stelae and altars

As said, bases for stelae and corresponding altars in front of them line the north and south borders of the terrace. The material used is limestone; the northern row contains tuffit blocks in the rear side of the basis.<sup>22</sup> The north series of altars starts from the mountain and counts 14 bases and 14 altars. The bases count two rows of blocks, always 14 pieces. Every altar is composed of two tiers: at the bottom two rectangular blocks, at the top a square one. The altars measure approximately 80-85 (height) x 70-75 x 70-75 cm. The (originally) 15



Fig. 14. Nemrud Dağ, East Terrace, ancestor stele (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).

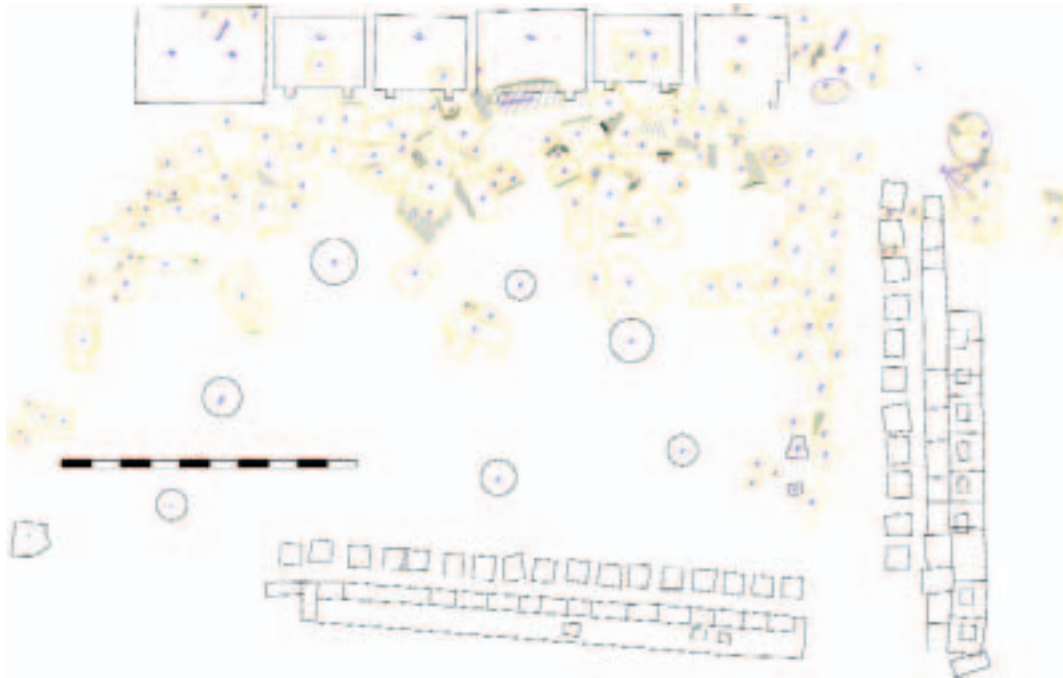
stelae standing here depicted the Persian and Kommagenean ancestors from whom Antiochos claimed to descend (fig. 14). Behind this row of stelae, which must have given the impression of a sculptured wall, there is a plinth with three stela bases. The southern series contains 17 altars, whereas 13 bases for stelae have been preserved. The arrangement and measurements are equal to those of the opposite side. Here the 17 claimed Greek and Seleucidian ancestors of Antiochos were depicted. Behind this row, at the south-west corner of the terrace, three bases and corresponding slabs in tuffit are badly preserved.

### 3.2 The West Terrace

#### 3.2.1 Lay-out and architectural elements

The West Terrace is a flat space partly cut out of the mountain, partly natural and partly constructed artificially. At the eastern side there are the tumulus and, like on the East Terrace, in total nine colossal statues. Five large stelae, the so-called Lion horoscope and four *dexiosis* stelae





*Fig. 15. Nemrud Dağ, plan of the West Terrace (© INF).*



*Fig. 16. Nemrud Dağ, West Terrace, overview from South (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).*





Fig. 17. Nemrud Dağ, West Terrace, statue of Kommagene, head standing on the terrace (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).

showing the king shaking hands with each of the four gods, are standing beside the row of statues to the north (see pp. 98-99). These five stelae were flanked at both sides by a lion/eagle pair as well. The south and (contrary to the East Terrace) the west sides are occupied by bases for tuffit stelae with altars in front of them. As on the East Terrace, the south side originally contained an orthostate wall of 15 stelae showing the 'Eastern' ancestors; in this case the western side showed the 17 'Western' ancestors (figs. 22-23). The northern side provides an access to the northern and the eastern terraces. Here Goell found a plinth with three socles and two altars in front. She also reports the existence of relief fragments.<sup>23</sup> She thus reconstructed three or five *stephanophoros* stelae as on the East Terrace. Also at this north side, at the beginning of the slope, there was a large statue of a lion standing on a platform. Part of this guardian animal and his base are still in situ. The open area between the base of the statues and the ancestor altars is now full of blocks fallen down from the



Fig. 18. Nemrud Dağ, West Terrace, statue of Antiochos, head standing on the terrace (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).

statues whereas it must have been an empty space. Goell mentioned an altar/offering table in front of the statues; this is, however, not visible. The structure that can nowadays be seen in front of the stelae (fig. 20, left) seems not original; we can not distinguish five altars that were suggested by Sanders.<sup>24</sup> There are no traces of paving. The living rock rises considerably in some spots.

A path runs behind the stelae and statues along the east side, similar to that on the East Terrace. To the west, the circular path around the tumulus is hewn out in the rock.

The main entrance to the terrace was provided by the *hodos* coming from the direction of Arsameia; fragments of an entrance stele had been preserved, as well as its socle (see section 4.3.2).

### 3.2.2 The colossal statues

The disposition of the gigantic statues is identical to the East Terrace, which is of great help in reconstructing them.<sup>25</sup> There are a few differences in the



*Fig. 19. Nemrud Dağ, West Terrace, detail: the base of the colossi covering the base of tuffit slabs of the stelae and sculptures (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).*



*Fig. 20. Nemrud Dağ, West Terrace, the stelae and sculptures next to the colossi (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).*



details of clothing and rendering of the faces. The pathos of the faces is enhanced in the Zeus and Herakles who have a frown in their forehead and bulging flesh over the nose; this feature being shallower on the East Terrace. This and the beards make them look older and more impressive than the youthful Apollo and Antiochos with their smooth roundish cheeks. The back of Kommagene's head is veiled as on the East Terrace. She has remarkably protruding lips, her ears are set (too) high and bear long jewels. The male figures wear the Persian *tiara*, Antiochos has a feathered one in Armenian fashion.<sup>26</sup> This headgear consists of a high, almost trapezoidal cap with three long flaps covering the ears and the back. Antiochos' ear-flaps are turned up and arranged over the forehead so that they cover one another.<sup>27</sup> His well-shaped ears are visible. Along the front and the back of the tiaras runs a series of round discs and all are embellished by a diadem tied together on the back, its fillets hanging downwards in the nape. These bands are studded with winged thunderbolts (Antiochos and Zeus) or round and lozenge discs (other males). Antiochos and Zeus have adorned neckbands, the former studded with winged thunderbolts, the latter consisting of a torque ending into two lion heads under the chin (figs. 17-18).<sup>28</sup>

### 3.2.3 The stelae and sculptures in tuffit

As stated, a series of sculptures is placed to the north of the colossi. Their base consists of one tier of limestone and living rock topped by re-used tuffit slabs with erased inscriptions on the surface.<sup>29</sup> At the southern side one can see how the second layer of the base for the colossal figures covers the tuffit slab (figs. 19-20). The stelae are inserted into this base by means of sockets. Whereas the northern pair of lion and eagle are now set apart, the other pair occupies its original position.<sup>30</sup> The dimensions of the stelae differ considerably and the set looks rather irregular.

The four northern stelae show a king in Persian attire on the left shaking hands with a deity on the right in the *dexiosis* ritual.<sup>31</sup> It is important to see how the king, probably always the same person, adopts iconographic elements of the person in front of him in his own dress and attire - as will become clear from the description given below.<sup>32</sup> Zeus is much bigger than the king but, because he is sitting their heads are at the same level and heads, hands and other elements have similar sizes. Herakles is a little larger than the king and Apollo is slightly smaller.



Fig. 21. Nemrud Dağ, West Terrace, *dexiosis* stele showing the king and Apollo-Mithras (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).

Nowadays the most northern stele lacks nearly all its relief: on the right the outline of the *kalathos* and the cornucopia of Kommagene is barely recognizable. Fragments of the figures were found by Humann and Puchstein and carried to Berlin, whereas Goell found the king's head.<sup>33</sup> The king had his attire adorned with lions and fruits, especially pomegranates.

The second *dexiosis* stele has the king and Apollo-Mithras who wears a starred Phrygian cap around which a sunburst with sixteen points is shining. The king's *tiara* has five feathers on top and has a rich adornment of a lion walking to the right in a frame of olive wreath at the lower side and two lions in a lower band. The ear-flap, adorned with olive leaves, is turned up and to the front, the end of the other one is visible underneath. Similar olive leaves are stitched on the king's belt. His face has a round cheek, especially if compared with that of Apollo (fig. 21).

On the third and largest slab Zeus is enthroned on a mighty seat with animal-shaped front legs. The heads of the legs are those of a lion, but with pointed ears and horns.<sup>34</sup> On top of the back a pair of Greek eagles is seated, with spread wings and heads turned to their master. The *tiara* of Zeus is adorned with stars and, along the outline, beads. At the lower edge runs a series of thunderbolts. The king's *tiara* has five feathers on top and the upper part has a thunderbolt and the foliate motive of oak leaves and glands. Underneath there is a diadem with winged thunderbolts. The belt has similar oak leaves and glands, the boots have thunderbolts.

On the fourth stele Herakles holds his *leonte* and his club near his left flank. Unfortunately





Fig. 22. Nemrud Dağ, West Terrace, stelae bases and altars, western side (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).



Fig. 23. Nemrud Dağ, West Terrace, ancestor stele (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).

details of the king's dress are worn off, but he must have had a lion and wine leaves as adornment on his dress.<sup>35</sup>

The stele with the Lion horoscope is the most famous piece. The animal strides to the right but turns its head with open muzzle and jutting tongue to the onlooker. A moon crescent covers his chest. Eight-pointed stars are scattered over the surface, three stars with sixteen points (in fact the planets Jupiter, Mercury and Mars) are shining over the back of the animal. They have their names written along the upper edge. We turn to this stele more in detail in section 4.2.2

These stelae look more elaborate and detailed than most of the slabs of the family members, if we assume that state of preservation plays no role. They are made with great skill and knowledge of iconographical details; see for instance the adornments of the various dresses of the kings corresponding with the gods.

### 3.2.4 Ancestor stelae and altars

The west row of ancestor stelae and altars nowadays still counts 12 bases for stelae and 12 corresponding altars made from greyish limestone. The blocks that had to contain the stelae rest on a base of large blocks. They can be single or composed of two halves. Behind them, lying on the rock, there are the bases containing sockets for the insertion of the tuffit stelae. Some of them are hewn from the living rock. The altars are composed of two rectangular limestone blocks at the bottom and a square one in the same material on the top. They measure more or less 80-85 (height) x 75 x 75 cm. At the northwest side there are four big tuffit blocks, probably not in original position (fig. 22).

At the southern side of the terrace a similar disposition has been realised as on the western side. Ten bases are still extant, as are 11 of the corresponding altars. As stated above Goell calculated



Fig. 24. Nemrud Dağ, North Terrace (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).

an original number of 17 sets. In one of the altars the remains of a stele are still visible. The stelae's bases are built up from limestone blocks managed along the edge of the living rock, partly used instead of these blocks (after third block from the east). They measure approximately 60-65 (height) x 70-130 (width) x 85 cm (depth). The altars, made of tuffit, are less regular than their southern counterparts. Most of them are bigger and contain three layers of blocks and a cover plate on top. All in all, their measurements differ notably. The sixth block from the east has a Greek inscription in four lines on its eastern side.<sup>36</sup> One may ask whether the difference in format of the altars - contrasting to the regularity of all limestone altars on the East and West Terraces - had anything to do with the importance of the person depicted on the corresponding slab. However, such a division cannot be noted on the East Terrace. Besides it seems to have been more difficult to make regu-

lar blocks from tuffit than from limestone, as can be seen on the North Terrace.

As a matter of fact we are no longer able to study the slabs: they are nearly all lost. The detailed description by Young remains fundamental (fig. 23).<sup>37</sup>

### 3.3 The North Terrace

At the northern side of the passage between the East Terrace and the West Terrace a series of 42 unworked stelae lies on the ground. They correspond with 57 sockets; there are no altars here. Together, the sockets form a continuous plinth in which two pass-throughs have been made. Puchstein and Humann already observed that the slabs lack reliefs and texts. According to them the stelae had never been erected and they interpreted the overall structure as a kind of fence against the wind. Goell mentioned the find of mortar in one of the socket's holes and is of the opinion that the stelae stood upright. In her view the 'wall' was finished (figs. 24-25).<sup>38</sup>

At the north side, near the East Terrace, a rectangular structure in tuffit can be discerned. On this platform stood a large guarding eagle of which only fragments remain. Here, following one of the pass-throughs in the long plinth, a road leads down to the valley. Traces of it can clearly be remarked on the basis of hewings in the rock. Goell already observed a stele lying in the valley below the North Terrace; indeed a logical place for an entrance stele.<sup>39</sup> Due to the fact that no remains of an inscription are visible on the stele and given the circumstance that it could also derive from the North Terrace, its function remains uncertain.

### 3.4 Building materials

Two sorts of material have been used for the construction of the monument: grey to green slate- and sandstone-like stone, called *tuffit* by the geologist Bernd Fitzner, and white-yellowish limestone. The first material, given its nature generally rather poor and badly preserved, served for making the stelae on all three terraces, some of the smaller freestanding figures and elements of the architecture on the West and East Terraces. It was probably dug in a valley some 1,700 m from the East Terrace, near the place where recently a hotel has been erected. Here quarry marks can be observed as well as 'Rohlinge'.

The limestone is used for the colossal statues, for most stelae bases and for the altars. It must



have come from the area itself, but is always thought to differ from that of the mountain itself - very Karstic and splitting easily into plaques. Its origin is so far unknown.<sup>40</sup>

The gravel of the tumulus stems from the mountain itself. The rock still standing on the West Terrace may have served as a quarry.<sup>41</sup>

### 3.5 Preservation, construction and technique

All architectonic and sculptural elements are in a bad state of preservation, especially those hewn in the soft tuffit.

#### 3.5.1 The stelae

Only some slabs are still erect (as a matter of fact re-erected) and the few lying on the terraces having their original relief are but a small part of the once existing number of slabs. Several sockets show remains of the stelae once erected in it and apparently broken off.

As to the big stelae at the east side of the West Terrace the surface is severely damaged: the Kommagene stele has poor remains only, the other show large lacunae in their reliefs. The corresponding series on the East Terrace is lost apart from tiny fragments found by Goell and stored in the Adiyaman Museum.

#### 3.5.2 The colossal statues

On the West Terrace, the nine statues stand up to three of eight tiers; the other blocks tumbled down in several moments, unknown to us. The East Terrace has three of the five figures preserved up to the shoulders (sixth row) and two more or less up to the fifth tier, whilst the animals have fallen off their platform except for the right-hand eagle (three layers on base).

The damages of the heads consist of holes in the surface, which we do not encounter in the other parts of the statues. Therefore it seems that the heads were hewn out of a different material. This is not strange: this way they create an effect similar to that of acroliths, where heads and other nude parts are made of a different sort of marble to create a contrast.

The surfaces no longer show toolmarks apart from some chisel marks in deep-lying places like the corners between the wings and the breasts of the eagles in the fourth and fifth rows. In general, the surfaces are worn by the exposure in the free air. The stone of the statues on the East Terrace is greyish, that of the heads on the Eastern Terrace and of the statues on the West Terrace has a brighter colour and a smoother surface (where not damaged). The material seems different from the limestone of the mountain on this place apart



Fig. 25. Nemrud Dağ, North Terrace (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).



from the lower elements of the Herakles and the southern pair of animals on the West Terrace which are hewn from the living rock.

The colossal statues are architectonic composites. They stand on a base cut out in the rock and some even have the lower tiers hewn out of that (West Terrace: Herakles, right-side animals). The animals are composed of six tiers, the others in seven (Herakles) or eight (others). The lower layers are like walls of a small building, the interior space being filled with gravel and blocks of limestone. All rows are composed like good masonry by taking into account the joints between bounders and stretchers. The front parts of the lower layers consist of slabs modelled in relief. The upper frontal layers of the figures, from the lap onwards, are plastically rendered and the interior sides have been hollowed out in order to make them more manageable during construction. The shoulders are entirely worked out from single block, as are the heads. No concrete or mortar is used to join the parts; their weight - especially that of the top layers - was enough to keep the blocks in position.

The heads on the East Terrace have protrusions at the bottom and were set into sockets hewn out in the shoulder blocks. The Antiochos head has a pour channel at the bottom<sup>42</sup> and the shoulder piece of Apollo shows channels near the neck. Zeus has a small channel on top of the *tiara* element on which the tip had to be placed. The tenon was either made out of the same block as the head (Apollo) or produced separately and set into cavities in both head and shoulder piece (Antiochos, Kommagene). As the tenon of the Apollo<sup>43</sup> is some five cm smaller than the cavity, we must assume that this head - and probably the others - after being set into its position, were stabilised by adding lead clamps in the same way architects practiced in constructing buildings with large blocks. The eagles' and the lion's heads and all heads on the West Terrace have flat bottoms corresponding in dimensions to the smooth surfaces on the shoulder pieces. The shoulder piece of the Antiochos has a circle incised.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, these heads were simply put into position by lifting. Their weight apparently sufficed and the centre of gravity was well calculated.

All blocks of the upper three layers have deep, square holes, varying in number from two to four, with sides of 5-7 cm and 9-12 cm deep (fig. 18).<sup>45</sup> These are never positioned in the bottom or top, but always in the front or the sides and they served to hoist the blocks into their final position. The upper surfaces of most layers have shallow



Fig. 26. Nemrud Dağ, East Terrace, the *nomos* on the back of the colossi (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).



Fig. 27. Nemrud Dağ, West Terrace, the *nomos* on the back of the colossi (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).

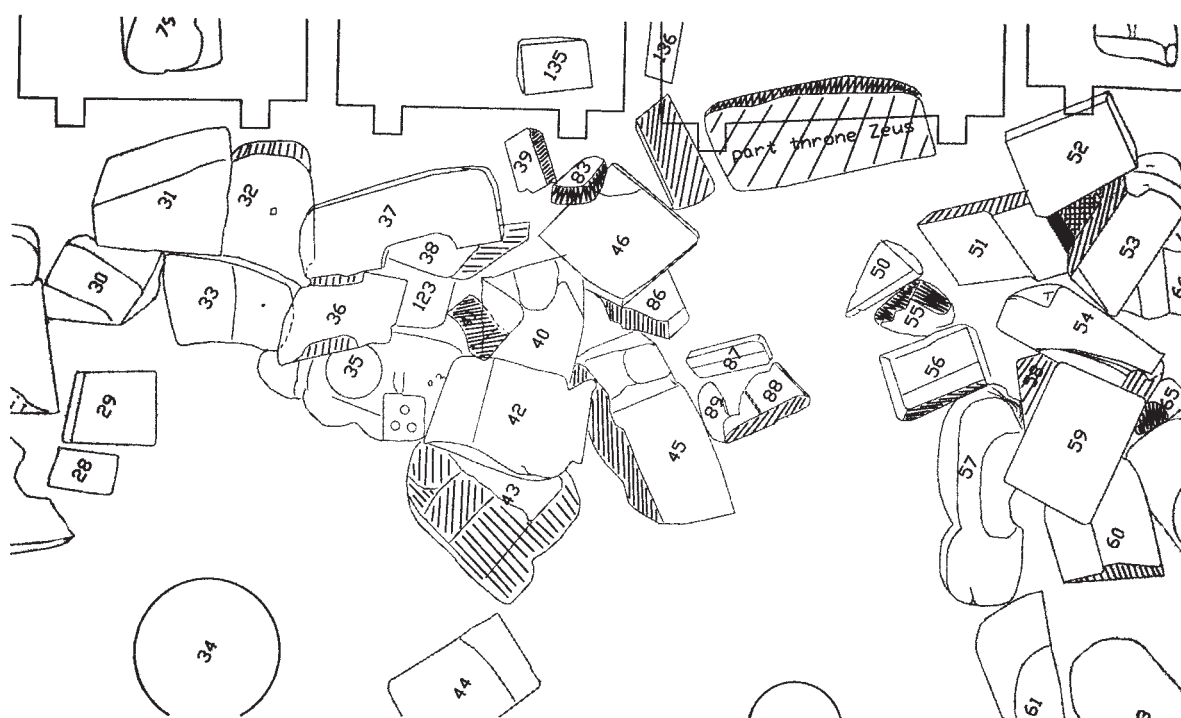


Fig. 28. Nemrud Dağ, SIS level 2: plan of the West Terrace (© INF).



Fig. 29. Nemrud Dağ, SIS level 3: overview photograph of the West Terrace (2001, photo T.D. Stek).

indentations along the edges, probably for managing the blocks in place. As to the heads one may first think of the insertion of elements in metal, but more likely the holes served in all cases to lift the pieces from the earth to their destination. As the more obvious practise of leaving protruding hoisting points in place, only to be finished of after the final placement of blocks, was quite common in the Greek world; in the first instance we might be inclined to think of a re-use, or better re-placement, of the heads already in antiquity, after they had fallen of by, f.i., an earthquake. Be that as it may, the construction of the statues was apparently planned and carried out by an architect, who employed the same methods as were used for the erection of large buildings. The large dimensions of the holes requires filling. In fact, some holes in the columns at Karakuş have been filled in with pieces of worked stone. It is striking, however, that building blocks on other Kommagenian sites like Karakuş and Direk Kale also show these holes. Do we have to reckon with the possibility that it was a Kommagenean practise to use lifting holes and leave them just as they are?

One may cautiously consider the possibility that the surfaces of the figures had to be covered with stucco and paint. The harsh climate, however, would make vulnerable this embellishment and work would have to be redone every year.

### 3.5.3 The *nomos* inscription and other texts

The backs of the human and divine colossi and the relief stelae are inscribed with Greek texts. The colossi bear the *nomos* inscription, the relief stelae mention Antiochos' ancestors in a standard formula. The lettering on both is carefully executed. There are no guiding lines.

The lay out of the large inscription differs slightly per terrace and some wordings are different as well, but the columns are always the same. They present a sort of sub-chapter; paragraphs are indicated by a long hiatus. The texts on the back of the *dexiosis* stelae are less well executed (figs. 26-27, 34).

## 4 THE AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY RESEARCH

### 4.1 The Site Information System (with Tesse D. Stek & Ellen Thiermann)

As around 90 % of the blocks with which the statues have been constructed are still at hand, it seems appropriate to reconstruct the colossi on

the East and West Terraces.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, one of this season's main goals was the compilation of a Site Information System. Its goals and use are explained below.

#### 4.1.1 Goals

Drawing on the short description of the monument, here presented in section 3, the SIS enables the user to gain further knowledge about in the monument him- or herself. It has different layers or levels, ranging from a general overview to a specific detail.

The most general level (1) is formed by the topographical map (fig. 3). Many thousands of GPS points have been combined and show the tumulus with its remains and some of the characteristic features directly around it. Thus it became clear that the top of Nemrud Dağ is not 2150 m. high, as always stated, but 2206 m.<sup>47</sup>

From this overview the user can zoom in on one of the terraces. Level 2 provides detailed maps of the East- and West terraces with the position of the statues, the fallen blocks and most other elements. The level 2 maps consist of a combination of GPS points from the topographical map (level 1) with handmade drawings. A documentation of the actual situation on both terraces had not been done before (fig. 28).

Level 3 takes the user into these maps by overview photographs of the terraces. The terrace's maps can be visualised from different angles while the position of the statues (rather evident) and the location of the different groups of blocks (much more problematic) becomes clearer (fig. 29).

On the fourth level one can look at the colossal statues themselves. Drawings show the statues' structures in different blocks and also indicate which blocks are still in situ.

The statues' tumbled down blocks can be studied on the fifth level. It provides photos of groups of blocks and, after that, of individual blocks. It is combined with a database that shows, i.a., our assignment of the blocks (fig. 30).

Most of the individual blocks can also be found on level 6, in which there are scale drawings of blocks with sculpted details, from different perspectives, thus giving more detailed and precise information than the photographs.

The 3Dimensional reconstruction combines these different levels and will, in general, be of great help in obtaining a general understanding of the monument. For reasons of convenience we thus labelled it level 0.



Level 0: 3D reconstruction  
 Level 1: topographical map  
 Level 2: terrace plans  
 Level 3: terrace photographs  
 Level 4: colossal statues' drawings  
 Level 5: blocks photographs  
 Level 6: blocks drawings

#### 4.1.2 How to use the SIS

The general structure of the SIS as explained, will be illustrated in this paragraph by a short description of the data now available for the East Terrace and West Terrace.

The East Terrace has been relatively well preserved. The gigantic statues are standing upright for the most part. The eagle and lion are, at both sides, largely collapsed and are less well preserved. Level 0 and 1 provide a general impression of the East Terrace as it is nowadays. On the plan (level 2) the position of the blocks and all other elements are precise, however not all (fragments of) blocks are visible. For the numbering of the blocks see below.<sup>48</sup> Level 3 are photographs providing an overview of the terrace on which nearly all blocks and other elements can be seen. Blocks are numbered from 1 to 56 (for this numbering see paragraph 4.1.3). Small or unidentifiable fragments are not always included. The database (Blocklist East Terrace) gives our interpretation of the 56 blocks, i.e. where we think they were originally. The statue/layer/block indications refer to the (reconstructed) statues and their structure as presented on level 4. The statues are named from south to north: A (lion), B (eagle), C (Antiochos), D (Kommagene), E (Zeus), F (Apollo), G (Herakles), H (eagle), I (lion). The base of the statues is always layer 1; layers are numbered from bottom to top; most statues have 7 layers. If layers consist of different blocks, these have been given a letter. When facing a statue, the block in front, at the left side is designated a; counter clock-wise follow blocks b, c, d and e. The photos of groups of blocks and individual blocks presented in level 5 are also to be consulted together with the database (Blocklist East Terrace). This way the user can study specific parts of the East Terrace, also being able to check our interpretation of the blocks. Level 6, drawings of individual blocks, will be of great help in understanding the features characterising specific blocks. We decided in this stage to provide a relatively large number of drawings of the East Terrace blocks (in comparison to the West Terrace, see below) for practical reasons. The East Terrace blocks can be

drawn more easily than those on the West Terrace; besides the structure of the statues can be better understood on the East Terrace because of their better preservation (see further section 4.1.3).

The West Terrace is less well preserved and thus preliminary asked for a different approach. As a general overview of the West Terrace could not be obtained by the laser scans (level 0 and 1 are thus relatively incomplete here), it was decided to compile a plan of the West Terrace based on the (few) GPS points. On these fixed points an imaginary grid was laid down; the blocks were measured and drawn in by hand from this grid. The West Terrace plan presented here (level 2) is thus not 100% exact, but this hardly matters because the fallen blocks are not *in situ*. In order to get insight into the present position of parts of statues fallen down it proved to work out very well. For the numbering of the blocks see below. Level 3, overview photographs of the West Terrace, makes the plan understandable. The situation on the West Terrace being more complicated than on the East Terrace, the SIS user finds relatively numerous photographs of it. Blocks are numbered from 1 to 152, again at random but roughly from north to south. As on the East Terrace, the database (Blocklist West Terrace) gives our interpretation of the 152 blocks. For the statue/layer/block indications, and level 4 in general, the East Terrace statues and their structure necessarily served as a parallel. The same indications are used. In level 5, photographs of the blocks, emphasis was mainly laid on groups of blocks because many times individual blocks do not show many, if any, specific characteristics. Hence, there are for now still many question marks in the database (Blocklist West Terrace). For the same reason, and as explained above, drawings of individual West Terrace blocks (level 6) are few. In general, blocks with a dimension of less than 0.2 x 0.2 m have only been included when showing sculpted elements.

In the two blocklists thus seven columns are shown. The blocknumber refers to the number of the block on the plan of the terrace. Then follow the statue/layer/block indications as explained above. Added are the name of the statue and of its part in question; both just for visualisation as this information is already present in the statue/layer/block indication. The last column indicates the state of preservation, viz. a fragment or a whole block. The blocklists are connected with another part of the database, i.e. the photo/drawinglist. This contains the following information: the code of the photo with the corresponding



Fig. 30. Nemrud Dağ, SIS level 5: block photos of the East Terrace (2001, photo T.D. Stek).

blocknumber; the view (side, detail, overview, etc.); a table indicating if there is a drawing of the block; and remarks. With the photo code the first two letters logically refer to the East Terrace (E) or West Terrace (W), the following figures indicate the blocknumber (in case of overviews the central block has been taken), the final letters indicate the view (ba = back, fr = front, si = side, ls = left side, rs = right side, bo = bottom, to = top, gr = group photo, xx = unknown). General overviews, blocks of the statues' bases and the like may have alternative codes; these are however always evident (East Terrace overview 1, West Terrace base F, etc.).

#### 4.1.3 Block drawings

As explained above, level 6 of the SIS consists of handmade drawings of the blocks of the colossal statues on the East and West Terrace. For several reasons we aim to document the fallen blocks in detail and as completely as possible.

In the first place the documentation of the *status quo* of these fragments is necessary before any restoration, conservation or reconstruction work was to be undertaken. Secondly, detailed measurements are needed for our reconstruction proposals, as they can show which blocks fit in and which do not. Details documented by these drawings can also provide further insight into techniques of sculpturing and engineering used; also the lifting holes, for instance, are measured and indicated. And finally, all earlier publications on Nemrud Dağ lack detailed drawings of the tumbled down blocks.

The blocks were given individual numbers which are independent from their possible identification, but generally in correspondence with their present position in the field: from left to right when facing the statues.

Drawings were made from the flat bottom- and top surfaces of the blocks, as these form the junctions with the other tiers of the colossi, and for that reason are indicative of their position in the

statue. Further drawings document the sculptured side(s) of the blocks. Unfortunately, due to the position of many of the blocks in the field, it was not always possible to provide all three (or more) views. If possible, we reconstructed the outline of damaged or invisible parts of blocks in dotted lines. All drawings were made on a 1:10 scale.

High resolution digital photographs were taken from the same angles as the drawings to add information about texture and colour (level 5). As said above, block drawings and photographs are linked in a database (Blocklist West and East Terrace), where our proposal for the identification is given as well. All drawn blocks are indicated in red on the drawings of the colossi (level 4). During the 2001 campaign the drawings of the blocks lying on the East Terrace were completed. The majority of the blocks on the West Terrace are to be drawn in successive campaigns.

#### 4.2 Some new observations

In compiling the SIS, epigraphic and archaeological interpretative research was carried out. The archaeological questions partly raised from the demands mentioned, partly from the preliminary

study of the literature available up to now. Some of the questions are dealt with in the following sections.

##### 4.2.1 Cosmological orientation?

The monument shows a strong irregularity in the orientation of its elements. No line exactly runs N-S or E-W. As to the East Terrace one may observe that Regulus, one of the fixed stars, rises at square angles with the set of colossal statues; their display thus corresponds with Regulus. Therefore, one may assume that the cosmos played a great role in the planning of the various elements, perhaps also including the stelae and their altars.<sup>49</sup>

In general, however, how attractive the possibility of a cosmological orientation may seem, certainly in view of the cosmos' large role in Kommagenian culture and perception in general, we have to remain reticent with these kinds of interpretations. As can be concluded from our short description of the monument, the natural environment, with its possibilities and limitations, played a large role in the monument's building. Always, and perhaps primarily, this kind of practical reasons should be taken into consideration.



Fig. 31. Nemrud Dağ, West Terrace, the Lion horoscope (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).



#### 4.2.2 The Lion horoscope: proposal for a new dating (Maurice Crijns)

One of the most spectacular finds Humann and Puchstein made on the West Terrace was a large slab representing a huge lion, speckled with 19 stars and with a moon crescent on his chest (fig. 31).<sup>50</sup> Each star has eight points. Apart from a small difference, the positions of the 19 stars represent the constellation of Lion as described already in antiquity in the *Ephemeris* of Eratosthenes.<sup>51</sup>

Three larger 'stars' with 16 points are depicted at the upper left edge. They represent the planets Mars, Mercury and Jupiter, as becomes clear from the inscriptions above them.

The two scholars immediately understood that the depiction on the slab represented a horoscope. The stars have a fixed position in the sky. Each evening one can see them at the same place, while the Sun, the Moon and the planets are moving day by day with different velocities. The stele is the frozen picture of the positions of the heavenly bodies at a certain moment at a certain date.

*Scholarly opinions: Lehmann and Neugebauer*

Humann and Puchstein consulted the astronomer Paul Lehmann to make a calculation of the date the horoscope would represent.<sup>52</sup> Lehmann was asked by Karl Humann to take into account the first half of the first century BC only, since Humann assumed that the Lion stele referred to Antiochos. Lehmann found several dates of which the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 98 BC. seemed most likely. Puchstein thought this date to be the birthday of Antiochos, but, as the inscription states that the 16<sup>th</sup> of *Audnaios* (a date in December or January) was the date of birth, he concluded that the calculated date was the day of his conception. Hence, Antiochos should have been born somewhere at the beginning of 97 BC as a seven months child.

This theory has three major problems:

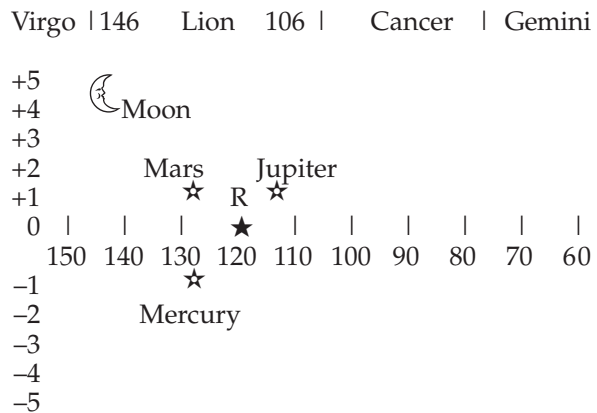
1. the planets Mars, Mercury and Jupiter are standing before Regulus and not, as depicted on the Lion stele, after Regulus;
2. the Moon is not in conjunction with Regulus but has passed Regulus four days before;
3. the Sun is in conjunction with the planets. That means that with Sunset, Mars, Mercury and Jupiter are descending. So these planets cannot be seen at all.

Perhaps as a justification for the imperfect constellation found and the speculative conclusions attached, Puchstein wrote: 'Ein derartiges Reliefbild vermag allerdings nur in sehr allge-

meinen Zügen den Zustand des Sternenhimmels zur Zeit des Horoskops wiederzugeben; denn in einer vollkommenen Darstellung desselben müßte sowohl der Teil des Zodiakalzeichens, der bei einer zeitlich bestimmten Beobachtung über dem Horizont emporsteigt, ausdrücklich bezeichnet als auch der gleichzeitige Ort aller Planeten nach Graden oder sonstwie genauer angegeben sein.'<sup>53</sup>

As Lehmann's constellation could never have been visible in reality, his calculation was generally rejected. In his fundamental work on horoscopes Otto Neugebauer calculated it as the constellation on July 7 of the year 62 BC; a date that could possibly be connected with the coronation of Antiochos.<sup>54</sup> Neugebauer reconstructed the planetary positions as follows:

Planet	Longitude	Latitude
Saturn	43	-2.1
Mars	128.7	+1.1
Mercury	128.5	-0.8
Jupiter	114.9	+0.7
Moon	132	+4.5
Regulus	120.6	+0.35
Sun	102	0
Venus	85	+0.1



The great advantage of this theory in comparison with the proposal by Lehmann is that all planets including Mercury could be seen during the night. However, the reconstruction of this constellation poses several major problems when we look at the picture on the Lion stele:

1. the Moon has passed Regulus the day before;
2. the Moon has a positive latitude, thus passes Regulus from above and not from below;
3. the Moon has passed all the planets;
4. Mars is in conjunction with Mercury, whereas the stele shows a sequence of Mars-Mercury-Jupiter;

5. Jupiter is in front of Regulus and will need another 24 days to pass Regulus.

Goell associated the date found by Neugebauer with the foundation of the hierothesion on Nemrud Dağ.<sup>55</sup> Wolfgang Haase saw the stele as the expression of a personal *katasterismos* of the king.<sup>56</sup>

#### A new calculation

We can conclude that from all hypothetical constellations between 100 and 50 BC, this one equals most that of the Lion horoscope, but that it is not identical and thus remains unsatisfactory. Therefore, a reinvestigation has been executed, in which the assumption that the constellation has to be searched in the era between 100 and 50 BC has been abandoned. Starting from 1 AD backwards a search was executed, making use of the *Ephemeris* of Tuckerman.<sup>57</sup>

Jupiter needs about 12 years to pass the ecliptica (i.e. the, in fact imaginary, circle in the sky the sun seems to pass through within a year), Mars 2 years and Mercury 1 year. The Moon passes the ecliptica in 1 month. First, those periods were selected in which Jupiter was in the constellation of Lion as depicted on the stele, according to Humann and Puchstein ranging from 106 to 146 degrees of the ecliptica. From these periods those were singled out in which Mars was also moving through this part of the ecliptica. And the same had to be true for Mercury. The second selection criterion was the sequence of these planets according to the Lion stele: Mars-Mercury-Jupiter. As a result the constellation of the July 14, 109 BC (Julian calendar) was found.<sup>58</sup>

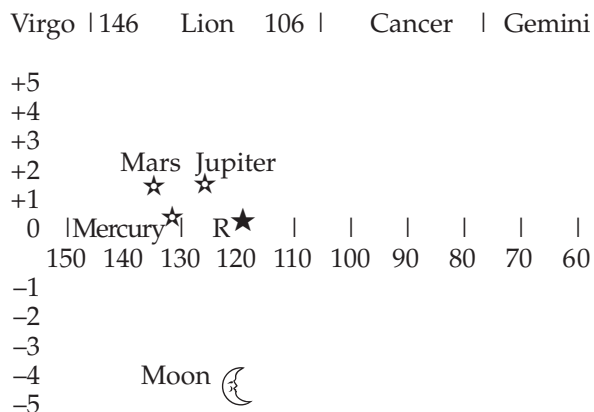
The following planetary positions are derived from the Tuckerman *Ephemeris* by a linear interpolation for 19h00 Babylonian Time, being 18h34 Local Time at Nemrud Dağ (co-ordinates 37°59' N and 38°45' E).

Planet	Longitude	Latitude
Saturn	184.06	+2.31
Mars	135.24	+1.09
Mercury	133.21	-0.6
Jupiter	126.38	+0.93
Moon	119.82	-4.52
Regulus	120.6	+0.35
Sun	108.38	0
Venus	102.49	-6.79

The Moon is not corrected for parallax. To an observer on the surface of the earth, the position of a body at a finite distance will generally differ

from its geocentric position, owing to the observer's location off the line from the centre of the Earth to the body. This effect is called parallax and occurs especially in case of the Moon.

The following picture shows the sky seen from the West on the evening of the 14th of July 109 BC:



As to the visibility of the planets the distance to the Sun is of importance as well as the brightness (magnitude). Jean Meeus was so kind to calculate following magnitudes:

Planet	Mars	Mercury	Jupiter	Regulus
Magnitude	+2.0	+0.2	-1.3	+1.3

- Mars could be seen with the naked eye.
- Mercury cannot be seen with the naked eye most of the time. However, on this particular day Mercury had reached almost its maximum distance from the Sun (being 28 degrees) and was therefore well visible with a magnitude of + 0.2.
- Jupiter with a magnitude of -1.3 had the greatest brightness and could be seen as a big dot in the sky.
- Venus had set before the Sun and could not be seen.
- Saturn could be seen very well. However, he stood far away from the other planets, close to the south at its culmination.

#### The welcoming of the gods

To summarise our hypothesis: the weeks before the planets had passed one after another Regulus: Jupiter on June 10, Mars on June 21, Mercury on the July 6 and finally the Moon on the evening of July 14.<sup>59</sup> Interestingly, the planets Jupiter, Mars and Mercury (the gods) passed Regulus (the king) from above, whereas the Moon (the land of

Kommagene) passed from below. For the people of Kommagene it must have looked as if the gods Zeus/Oromasdes (Jupiter), Artagnes/Herakles/Ares (Mars), Apollo/Mithras/Helios/Hermes (Mercury) and Kommagene (Moon), had come one after another to congratulate Regulus, the King.

The welcoming of the gods is (also) depicted on the four dexiosis stelae at the left of the Lion stele (see paragraph 3.2.3). Furthermore the 10<sup>th</sup> of Loos (i.e. July 14) is mentioned in the inscription as the date of the coronation of the king.

The exact time of the constellation was Sunset, 19h20 Local Real Time (=16h45 UT). To calculate this time in greater detail, calculations are required by linear interpolation based on the Tuckerman *Ephemeris*. We could make use of the astronomical software developed by Jan Rademaker to do this. The planets' positions can be reconstructed as follows:

Planet	Longitude	Latitude
Mars	135.24	+1.08
Mercury	133.33	+0.06
Jupiter	126.37	+0.93
Moon <sup>1</sup>	120.13	-5.72
Regulus	120.60	+0.35
Sun	108.40	0

Seen from Mount Nemrud the positions are as follows:

Planet	Azimuth <sup>2</sup>	Height
Mars	98.93	+17.33
Mercury	99.87	+15.37
Jupiter	106.05	+11.75
Moon	106.70	+2.65
Regulus	110.22	+7.63
Sun	119.37	0.45 <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The position of the Moon has been corrected for parallax.

<sup>2</sup> Azimuth: South 0 degrees, West 90 degrees, etc. Height: 0 degrees = horizon.

<sup>3</sup> The visible Sunset and Sunrise is influenced by the bending of the light beams by the atmosphere. This phenomenon is called atmospheric defraction. The Sun is lifted approximately + 0.5 degree at sea level and approximately 0.4 degree at an altitude of 2,000 m. So, the visible Sunset seen by an observer at Nemrud Dağ occurs when the Sun is approximately 0.4 degree below the horizon. Sunset is therefore 19h20 Local Real Time with a possible deviation of maximum 2 minutes.

Regulus was to be seen in the evening sky, but it is not sure that the conjunction of Moon and Regulus was visible, although 24 hours had passed after New Moon. The time lapse between Sunset and the descent of the Moon was about 17 minutes. If the Moon-Regulus conjunction was visible from the top of the mountain, it was only for a very short time: just before the descent of the Moon at 19h37 Local Real Time. In the minutes before, the complete constellation as depicted on the Lion horoscope, was in place. Next, the constellation disappeared from the sky part by part; Regulus descended at 20h04, Jupiter at 20h25, Mercury at 20h43 and Mars at 20h53.

This particular phenomenon makes it possible to determine not only the date but also the time of the constellation, viz. 109 BC, July 14<sup>th</sup>, at approximately 19h35 Local Real Time.

#### *The originator of the Lion horoscope*

It has been assumed that Antiochos erected the Lion stele in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Humann and Puchstein expressed their doubts about the dating of the stele because of the clumsy style: 'An einem etwa um das Jahr 40 v. Chr. entstandenen Werk von hellenistischer Hand würde man Eigenschaften wie die eben geschilderten gewiß nicht erwarten.'<sup>60</sup> A dating to 109 B.C. perhaps could explain why the stylistic features differ so much. Some scholars proposed that there has been an earlier sanctuary on top of Nemrud Dağ constructed by Mithradates I Kallinikos, the father of Antiochos. The dating of the Lion horoscope provides us a new clue to corroborate this hypothesis (see also section 4.2.3).

#### *4.2.3 Chronology: a new dating frame?*

In all extant publications on Nemrud Dağ the monument is considered a work ordered by one single man, commemorating the glory of himself and, in the second place, that of his ancestors: Antiochos I. This king reigned over the small state of Kommagene from 69 to 36 BC<sup>61</sup> and, as stated in his inscription, he erected the statues of Zeus, Kommagene, Apollo, Herakles and himself when he was old of age.<sup>62</sup> His father makes part of the 'Ahnengalerie' and his son Mithradates II is mentioned as one of the young persons on the slabs. Some scholars suggest that the monument was never finished.<sup>63</sup> The Antiochos' head on the East Terrace with not worked-out ears and the absence of any find of ceramics and other mobilia were the main arguments.



The evidence of the Lion horoscope and the (possible) presence of a second horoscope in the shape of the colossi (see 4.2.7) raise the question whether we have to reckon with the possibility of two different monuments. Humann and Puchstein already observed the difference in style between the stelae and the statues. A remarkable feature in this respect is the use of two different materials: tuffit for the stelae and part of the altars and building elements and limestone for the colossal statues and greater part of the altars and the slabs' bases.

Because of difference of material and differences in form and style of the stelae in respect to the limestone statues one may suspect that the tuffit elements form an independent ensemble, not made in combination with the statues. If they are considered separate from the statues they seem older and may belong to the reign of Mithradates I: the (new) date of the horoscope is the main clue for this conclusion. Besides, the inscriptions of Antiochos on the back-sides of the *dexiosis* stelae on the West Terrace are written over erased older texts, which have left an irregular striated, not smooth surface (fig. 34).<sup>64</sup> It cannot be established whether the date on the Lion horoscope is also the date of production.

In view of the new date, one should consider the possibility that Mithradates had himself erected a monument on the mountain in 109 BC, or soon after. Alternatively, Antiochos may have transferred a monument that his father had already built elsewhere, to this barren spot.

Points of consideration are:

1. the two different constructing materials, tuffit and limestone;
2. the traces of erased inscriptions on the stelae and their bases next to the statues on the West Terrace;
3. the date of 109 BC indicated in the Lion horoscope;
4. construction details;
5. the statues are mentioned in Antiochos' large text, but that the slabs are not.

Considering this, we suggest that the monument was not planned and executed at one single moment in time, but was executed in several stages. As a working hypothesis we propose the following chronological framework.

'Tuffit phase': Mithradates I constructed a terrace on the East Terrace on which he erected a series of stelae, and built a base with stelae on the West Terrace. The stelae of the ancestors and himself as the last member of the family were placed in a display we cannot reconstruct apart from the

few tuffit bases at the southern side of the East Terrace. All tuffit elements, including guardians in the shape of threedimensional lions and eagles, were erected on Nemrud Dağ in this period. This work must have been carried out at an indeterminate moment during the reign of Mithradates I, viz. 109-69 BC. The series of stelae on the North Terrace were erected, but not worked with texts or reliefs.

'Limestone phase': Antiochos enlarged the monument, turning it into his tomb. He constructed the artificial tumulus, hewed out a terrace over the old one on the East Terrace and enlarged the space on the West Terrace by cutting out the stone until the part still rising at the south side. The addition of the gigantic statues on the West Terrace created a new situation for the old stelae. These had to be re-placed into new bases, located in a position fitting to the new setting and therefore the row along the west side was created. The series on the south side probably held their original position and kept the old altars in tuffit. The rows on the East Terrace were restored: old blocks are visible under the northern row (fig. 19).<sup>65</sup> Antiochos erased the old text of Mithradates I on the *dexiosis* stelae - it could have been a *nomos* according to Waldmann and Goell - and wrote his own texts on them in a rather clumsy style (especially if compared to the *nomos* on the backs of the colossi). This gigantic work was not completed as we can see in various parts of the colossal statues (heads of Apollo and Antiochos on East Terrace, lack of holes for heads in neck pieces on West Terrace). As the king states in the large text that he was old, we must assume that the work began in his late years, let's say the last decade of his reign (45-36 BC).<sup>66</sup>

'Aftermath': Mithradates II ascended the throne after a struggle with his brother. He apparently had not been the first candidate. He left Nemrud Dağ as it was and started work on a new tomb at Karakuş, where his mother Isias (maybe Isias Philostorgos), his sister Antiochis and her daughter Aka would be buried.<sup>67</sup> His respect for his father had perhaps shrunk after the problems about the succession. Sanders even suggests that Antiochos was murdered.<sup>68</sup> Another reason may be the diminished prestige of the Kommagene kingdom; or a combination of either.<sup>69</sup>

Also other scholars working on the mountain already hinted at a more extensive chronological framework. Already Waldmann stated that there was perhaps an earlier sanctuary, built by Mithridates I, as did Şahin.<sup>70</sup> Goell had an elaborated hypothesis on an earlier sanctuary and

Jacobs and Hoepfner talk in a general vein about 'eine frühere Planungsphase'.<sup>71</sup>

It may be best to reserve judgment on this hypothesis at this stage of our research. In the first instance the presence of two different kinds of material may well be explained on practical grounds alone: hard stone was used for the statues, whereas the softer limestone was easier to work on for the reliefs. One also has to count with the possibility that the Lion horoscope, representing - as we have argued - a date in 109 BC, was made later on to commemorate an important historical event. Lastly the interpretations by Hoepfner have to be noted in this respect. In the end this author considers Antiochos' building activities as a 'Kunst-Mythos' and notes that the German excavations in Arsameia have never succeeded in finding the older phases that Antiochos claimed in his texts: 'Und wer unter den Reliefbildern ältere Stücke ausmachen möchte, entspricht zwar den Erwartungen des Königs, befindet sich aber wahrscheinlich auf dem Holzweg.'<sup>72</sup> The scholar looking for different phases in Antiochos' building program is therefore warned.

#### 4.2.4 The lower ensemble on the East Terrace

Goell found numerous mostly tiny remains of stelae at the foot of the huge statues on a sort of podium over a flight of what she thought to be three steps. She reconstructed a row of stelae similar to that still standing on the West Terrace but could not establish their sequence. Other stelae may depict a coronation ceremony (see paragraph 3.1.3).

This unit forms an ensemble on its own and nowadays has a low flight of steps in tuffit at the right and left hand sides. Goell interpreted these as steps leading to the higher terrace with the colossal statues. But from observations on site it has become clear that Goell's interpretation should probably be rejected. These steps, irregular though they are, belong to the construction of the lower terrace.<sup>73</sup>

Goell's reconstruction of five stelae standing on this structure, four of which with a *dexiosis* and one with a Lion horoscope, the same as on the West Terrace, is generally accepted.<sup>74</sup> It is important to realise, however, that this reconstruction is only based on the find of some tiny relief fragments. Some of these indeed seem to be part of a horoscope; the other possibly belonged to *dexiosis* stelae.<sup>75</sup> Goell's text seems to suggest that also part of the stele of the lion was found; but she presents no evidence in support of this, nor does she produce material evidence for the flanking

lion and eagle statues. We must conclude, then, that we should approach Goell's conclusions with care. We can conclude that there may have been a horoscope stele on the East Terrace, and that it stood with some undetermined stelae on the podium structure. In view of the structural similarities between the East and West terraces, Goell's reconstruction is in itself not unreasonable, but it should be remembered that we cannot determine the exact nature and sequence of these stelae.

On the basis of our hypothetical chronological framework formulated above, one may cautiously propose the following sequence of situations. Mithradates I created the East Terrace with a plateau cut out in the mountain. He erected slabs with representations of himself in the act of *dexiosis* with Zeus, Kommagene, Apollo and Herakles as well as the Lion horoscope and the coronation stelae. In front of it the stepped structure was constructed. Its purpose cannot be determined: was it an altar, a podium or something else? (see further below, section 4.2.5). The other sides of the terrace were flanked by the series of ancestors, the 15 Persians at the north side, the 17 Greeks at the south side.

Mithradates' son Antiochos left the old situation more or less intact, but replaced the fragile bases of the stelae by limestone blocks. More important is his amplification of the ensemble: he cut out a second terrace over the niche built by his father and placed here the series of nine colossal statues. The old ceremonies may have continued in the old form and be enriched by special elements regarding his own monument. It is not yet entirely clear how the ancient visitors approached these new colossi. Their platform has three steps in front and some more at the side of the northern eagle. Here one could expect a prolongation of the flight of stairs built by Mithradates I as suggested by Goell, but it seems that this would have been simply too high for stairs of this type. Maybe, something like the modern ramp that was built at the north side, also existed in antiquity, which may have provided a connection between the North and West Terraces. It is unclear whether there were stairs at the southern side, the place where people entered the terrace via the twisting staircase.

Antiochos embraced, as it were, his father's monument by building over it his own series of statues. Their upper outline reflected at the same moment the contour of the tumulus built by him over the mountain itself. Whereas Mithradates I sought contact with the gods by means of *dexiosis*, Antiochos placed himself at the same level as the gods.

#### 4.2.5 The 'Fire Altar' on the East Terrace: true or false?

Humann and Puchstein found two parallel rows of steps running east-west at the eastern edge of the East Terrace, five steps at the south and four on the north, together with a wall running north-south east of these steps and a 'dromos' directed towards the statues.<sup>76</sup> This situation is also depicted on Hamdi Bey's map. Goell, on the basis of information of her workers, thought the 'dromos' to be a modern construction, a sort of bait for catching kekliks, a local sort of pheasant, and destroyed it.<sup>77</sup> The other remains were reconstructed as three of four sides of a large stepped altar. As such the reconstruction of the stepped elements and the retaining wall into a square architectonical structure (fig. 4) is not unreasonable. The old maps suggest a straight outline at the west side of the steps. Most recently, Hoepfner did agree with this reconstruction and considered the altar as an essential part of the sanctuary.<sup>78</sup>

However, this reconstruction does not immediately allow an interpretation of the platform as an altar. The shape of the monument and the notion of a stepped element at one side of the terrace can be explained in various ways. One could, for instance, imagine the king himself, with local dignitaries around him, sitting under a kind of *velum*, diametrically opposed to the figure of Zeus, looking at ceremonies in the courtyard.

We suppose to treat the structure destroyed by Goell as an original element for the following reasons:

1. the 'bait' has regular, smooth inner walls and rough outer ones according to the very accurate map by Humann and Puchstein (Hamdi Bey only has straight lines);
2. the walls stand at square angles to the 'altar';
3. the structure points exactly towards the colossal statue of Apollo and is not positioned in the middle of the 'altar' wall.

Utecht's geophysical research evidenced the presence of a cavity under the 'altar'.<sup>79</sup> One may, therefore, ask whether the parallel walls formed a sort of dromos leading towards the hollow rooms under the terrace. That does not mean that we suggest the presence of the tomb chamber here: the cavities seem to be too small, but one may think of an offering place. Its nature can only be investigated if Goell's altar will be demolished.

In conclusion, we fear that Goell's decision was incorrect. The destruction of the evidence makes

a check impossible. The idea of an altar may well have been inspired by a - not written - comparison with the Zeus altar at Pergamon or other monumental examples of this era.<sup>80</sup>

#### 4.2.6 The West Terrace in its oldest shape

In this case our hypothesis concerning the phases of construction, does not help us any further in determining how the old situation differed from the new. At one glance, it is clear how the tuffit base of the stelae at the right side is covered by the base of the statues. The steps cut from the living rock under the lower layer of the colossi reach a slightly higher level than the steps under the stelae (fig. 19).<sup>81</sup> This implicates an alteration or an adaptation to a new situation.

The juxtaposition of the couples of lion and eagle in both tuffit and limestone can possibly be explained as a sign of *philia*, piety on the part of Antiochos towards his father: he wanted to keep complete the old monument. In a way, even the juxtaposition of the same gods in two forms (enthroned and in the act of *dexiosis*) is - to say the least - odd.

As said in the description (section 3.2.3; fig. 20), the series seems to be irregular because of the different measurements that were used, and because of the carefully rounded outlines of the top that rarely correspond to the adjacent slabs. The Kommagene and Apollo stelae seem to form a couple; their upper outlines form a shallow curve. The other slabs have similar curved tops, but do not match. If we were to take into account the possibility that there used to be counterparts, we would have to assume at least two other pairs of gods, one matching the Zeus stele, and one matching the Herakles stele. The Lion horoscope, with its rounded left upper corner where the inscription follows the outline, may have had its own counterpart as well, for instance the constellation Eagle (Scorpion/Aquarius).

If we are right in distinguishing a construction in two stages, we are, however, unable at present to reconstruct the first phase. Antiochos apparently had to change the entire area when he wanted to add the colossal figures on this narrow place. The unsatisfactory placement of a row of ancestor stelae along the western side can have been the only solution available.

#### 4.2.7 The sequence of the colossal statues

It has been a matter of scholarly debate where the Apollo and Antiochos heads have to be



located. Humann and Puchstein meant that the king had his seat between Zeus and Herakles; they only knew the unbearded head nowadays still standing in front of the terrace (fig. 11) and had not yet discovered the other one lying at the backside of the colossi.<sup>82</sup> This hypothesis was discarded by Goell and since the important essay by John H. Young (1964) it is generally assumed that Antiochos is the figure sitting at the extreme left.<sup>83</sup> Young's main argument is the iconography of the Armenian *tiara* with the upturned flaps. He also points at the order of the figures as mentioned in the inscription (East Terrace IIa, 9-17): apparently the king started from the main figure, Zeus, listed the figures to the right (Herakles is sure) and concluded with those on the left. There are some additional arguments in favour of Young's proposal:

1. the actual position of the heads of Apollo and Antiochos;<sup>84</sup>
2. Antiochos forms a parallel to the semi-god Herakles in sharing the gods' community and 'adds' himself to them;
3. the usual position of a *ktistes*;
4. the height of the statues in relation to one another.

The choice of these particular gods is not explicitly explained apart from that of Kommagene as the symbol of his *patris pantrophos*. The choice for Zeus-Oromasdes, the father and leader of the gods, is obvious and Artagnes-Herakles-Ares apparently serves as a role model for Hellenistic kings (see infra). The association to Ares is perhaps due to an important victory like that at Pharsalos in 48 BC.<sup>85</sup> This does not seem very likely, however, in view of the fact that nowhere in the complex a direct hint at contemporary politics can be found, as well as the circumstance that dynastic presentation, and not self-representation seems to come to the fore most dominantly on Nemrud Dağ.

There is no specific reason known for the insertion of Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes. We propose two more hidden explanations, an astrological and a symbolical one.<sup>86</sup>

The first idea, originally put forward by M. Crijns, brings us back to astrology and astronomy. All figures seem to symbolise a star in the constellation and the series may thus form a specific situation like that in the Lion horoscope:

Statue	=	heavenly body
Lion	=	Lion

Eagle	=	Scorpion/Aquarius
Kommagene	=	Moon
Zeus	=	Jupiter
Apollo	=	Mercury
Herakles	=	Mars
Eagle	=	Scorpion/Aquarius
Lion	=	Lion

The gods seem to look towards their own stars. Mercury is only visible when standing at its maximum distance from the Sun. The combination of all these 'stars' visible at the same moment is in 87 BC. This constellation may represent the personal horoscope of Antiochos, similar to that on the Lion stele discussed above. If the Lion horoscope was also actually made in 109 BC and thus has to be connected to Mithridates I, this implicates that the younger king wanted to imitate and surpass his father in one and the same time.

The second hypothesis concerns the symbols of the four elements:

Zeus with his eagle	=	Air (eagle as symbol)
Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes	=	Fire (bull as symbol)
Artagnes-Herakles-Ares	=	Earth (lion as symbol)
Kommagene	=	Water (she is <i>patris pantrophos</i> , which can only be true if there is water).

In this way the set of four gods was complete and Antiochos could share the four-some. The pairs of animals embrace the ensemble and repeat the important link between Zeus and Herakles and, now, Zeus and Antiochos and/or Herakles and Antiochos. Moreover, sitting next to Kommagene, Antiochos forms a couple with her as his own country. In this reasoning, Apollo remains the least explicable figure despite his many other names: was here the Persian element of Mithras predominant?

Finally, it is important to notice that there may also be a more general explanation for the choice of these gods. In the Hellenistic period in general especially the trio Zeus, Apollo and Herakles was related to kingship and the ruler, as is witnessed, amongst other things, by the prominent place these gods hold in Alexandrian poetry. By choosing this trio Antiochos thus placed himself in a royal, Hellenistic tradition, presenting himself as a typical Hellenistic ruler. The portrait of Kommagene, and that of the king himself, added a local touch.

#### 4.2.8 Style and iconography

The colossal statues on Nemrud Dag<sup>7</sup> are coarse works of sculpture apart from the heads that show a great interest for detail despite their huge measures. Thrones, boots, and clothes: few details enrich the figures. The only additions are the fruits in Kommagene's lap, her cornucopia, Herakles' stubbed club and the mane of the lion. In sum, the surfaces are plain for the most part. The East Terrace statues are still simpler than their counterparts.

The heads, as said, show a certain degree of detail and some of them even are refined works despite their measures. The head of Antiochos on the East Terrace has remained unfinished as has been observed before by Young.<sup>87</sup> Antiochos has his ears not worked out and the lappets of his *tiara* are left unadorned. He has exceedingly roundish cheeks and the small lips stick out of the smooth surface like the lips of a fish. The mouth is closed, whereas all other figures have parted lips.<sup>88</sup> It seems plausible, therefore, that Antiochos was waiting for the last treatment, especially concerning the ears. His face contours are roundish and should have been reduced slightly as well.

The heads of the colossi of both terraces are similar only, not identical. The beards of Zeus and Herakles of the West Terrace are richer and contain more curls than those of their counterparts. A substantial difference concerns the execution of the Kommagenes: the west one is younger, more elegant than the east one. In fact, that is true for the whole set of heads on the West Terrace.

It seems logical to surmise that the heads were made separately from the bodies, probably in a workshop. The differences in style and execution of the heads could be explained by assuming that artisans with different skills executed the job in a large studio. It is unnecessary to postulate different data or different masters.

The fact that one figure remained unfinished may not puzzle us too much. Apparently the monument had to be finished at a certain moment - the king being old as he stated in his text - and one did care no longer for this shortcoming that would remain practically invisible at the great distance. It is easy nowadays to study the details of the heads, standing as they are on the two terraces, but it is really doubtful whether one could distinguish all their determining elements clearly from beneath.

#### 4.3 The pilot survey (with Anne ten Brink)

As described more extensively in section 5, the area below tumulus and terraces was, by means

of processional roads and markers, part of the sanctuary and its conception. To understand what was happening on the terraces, we therefore thought it necessary also to study this direct, wider context; especially because some interesting questions remain to be answered.<sup>89</sup>

##### 4.3.1 Introduction

The area directly surrounding the mountain was systematically investigated for the first time in the 1950's by Goell and members of her team, and mainly by the topographer Heinrich Brokamp. In mapping the mountain and monument, Brokamp also made a rather basic but reliable map of the circle with a diameter of around 1000 m around the tumulus. The main information provided by this research was the existence of two processional roads and markers (inscribed and decorated stelae) as well as a route to a spring in the valley where the nearest source of water was to be found. No traces at all were found of what we could call construction places and activities (as, for instance, accommodation for the people building the monument) or other facilities for a sanctuary in use (as, for instance, lodging places or little stations on the way up).

The aims of the 2001 survey around the mountain were modest. First of all we wanted to check whether the information provided by Goell and Brokamp was correct and to look if there was perhaps more to be found. Second, we wanted a more thorough and detailed insight into the area. Third, we looked for pottery and other traces of human occupation. The striking absence of pottery on the terraces itself plays an important role in the discussion whether the sanctuary was ever in use.<sup>90</sup> We hypothesized that the remains looked for on the mountain might be, at least partly, in the area below. This, firstly, in view of the climatological circumstances (every spring huge amounts of melting water run down the mountain) and secondly from observations during the preparation of the season (*figs.* 32-33).

##### 4.3.2 Results

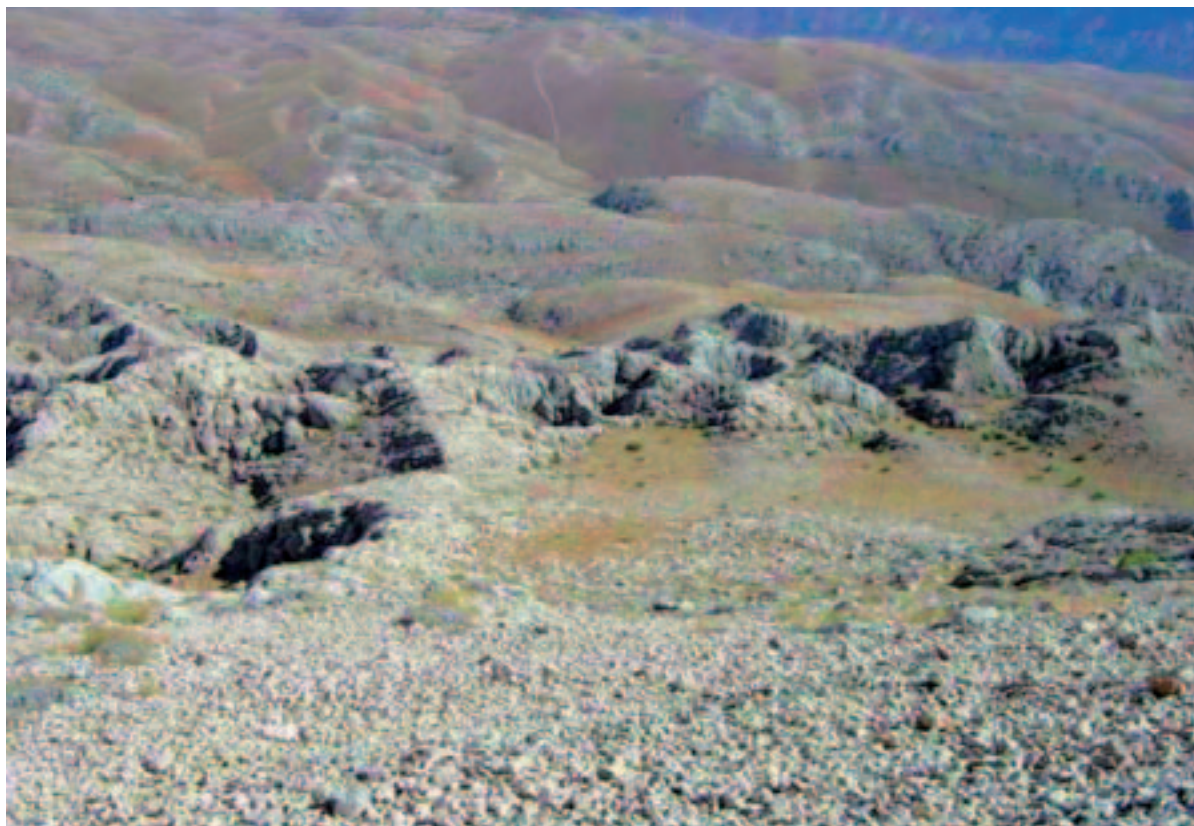
As to our first question, the information provided by Goell and Brokamp results to be correct and rather complete. The procession road stele I is still in situ. There is no trace of the socket of stele II anymore; as Sanders already conjectured, the place was probably destroyed while making the foundations for the modern stairs leading up from the cafeteria.<sup>91</sup> From another stele, lying

below the North Terrace, it cannot be determined anymore if it concerns an entrance stele or not (see section 3.3). We did not come across other such remains. We would like to draw attention to a flat area below the East Terrace where possible cuttings from the living rock are visible as well as large blocks of stone. There may have been a quarry of some kind here. In general, the limestone around the mountain gives us the impression that the blocks for the statues could well have been hewn in the direct surroundings.

As to our second question, a more thorough inventarisation of the area proved worthwhile. We compiled a plan from the modern cafeteria (southwest) to the area below the East Terrace (northeast). The landscape consists for a large part of an alternation of ridges and gorges. These gorges are formed by the melting water running down the mountain into one or more so-called ice caves. These ice caves form, as it were, a kind of band at this side of the mountain; they continue below the East Terrace and then stretch out further east. The ice caves differ considerably in size. In many, especially the larger ones, the power of

the water coming down can be clearly noticed by the extreme weathering of the rock. The perennial presence of water here is witnessed by vegetation at the borders of the caves still abundantly present in August and September. Even in this period the guards working on the mountain fetch blocks of ice from the caves. We numbered the ice caves directly connected with the gorges, but it is important to realise that there were many more, stretching out to the south and east. From the ice caves it is a 20 minutes steep climb up to the East Terrace. The ice caves, providing abundant fresh and cold water all year, thus seem to have been a source of water much nearer than the spring down the Malatya valley.

Our search for remains of pottery and other human occupation, the third objective of the pilot survey, proved to be succesful. In the survey area we found prehistoric artefacts, pottery from later periods, and parts of the monument on the mountain (stelae fragments, tuffit blocks, etc.). In itself this is an important conclusion; however quantities are few, after difficult and intensive searching. Most artefacts are found at the borders



*Fig. 32. Nemrud Dağ, the survey area (2001, photo A. ten Brink).*





Fig. 33. *Nemrud Dağ, survey find (2001, photo A. ten Brink).*

of the gorges. Remarkable is the presence of many small iron slags. The survey database, to be completed next years, will present the finds, supplying a map of the area with the find numbers and further, for every artefact, hand-measured GPS points, a description, dating and photographs. Regarding the prehistoric artefacts and the pottery, the results are too meagre to draw real conclusions at the moment, apart from the general insight that Nemrud Dağ attracted human interest from prehistoric times to the Byzantine period.<sup>92</sup>

It is important to note that the artefacts that have fallen off the mountain cover a very large area. The few tuffit parts of stelae and sockets we found probably come from the East Terrace. They indicate that, again due to climatological circumstances, the present findspots of artefacts fallen down from the terraces only have little to say about their original position.

#### 4.3.3 Conclusion

A better knowledge about the area around the tumulus and terraces and the artefacts found there proves to be important for our understanding of Antiochos' monument and for the use of Nemrud Dağ on a larger time scale. Further exploration is thus highly desirable. An extensive field survey, however, seems impossible for practical reasons. The area is extremely rough and there are considerable differences in landscape types which, together with the extreme scarcity of the material, makes a more scientific survey in

which different areas are statistically compared, impossible.

#### 4.4 Epigraphic research (Onno van Nijf & Marlies Schipperheijn)

The archaeological research programme on Nemrud Dağ includes an epigraphic component under the responsibility of Onno M. van Nijf (University of Groningen). During the campaign of 2001 a small team from Groningen has made an inventory of the epigraphic material still in situ.<sup>93</sup> This material can be divided into three groups:

1. the so-called *nomos* inscription on the back sides of the colossal statues on the East and West terraces (figs. 7, 26-27)<sup>94</sup>;
2. the inscriptions on the back-sides of the dexiosis reliefs on the West terrace (fig. 34);
3. a small number of fragments on an altar and on scattered stones on the West terrace.

The second group includes a number of palimpsest texts, i.e. inscriptions that have been chiseled over already in antiquity. The original text is at places still visible - if not readily legible.<sup>95</sup> It has become clear over the course of our investigations that these inscriptions have suffered severely from the extreme weather conditions on the mountain, and from the large number of tourists who visit the site each year. Their condition is deteriorating rapidly (fig. 34).

During the campaign of 2001 we have taken photographs and made paper squeezes of the palimpsest inscriptions, and some of the others. We have focussed on the palimpsest texts, as it was expected that they contain important information on the dating of the complex. Unfortunately, we have not been able to make much progress with the decipherment, due to the bad quality of the text.

Finally, we were able to read two hitherto unnoticed inscriptions in Greek on the bottom of the Herakles' shoulder piece on the West Terrace.

1:

Under the right arm two letters: C A.

The sigma h. 3.5-3.8 cm, w. 2.0 cm, The alpha h. 3.5 cm, w. 2.5 cm.

2:

I ΑΛΛΟΥΔΗΣΤΗΝΙΘΣ

The total inscription is 54.0 cm long, the letters vary in height between 2.9 - 4.5 cm and in width between 2.0- 3.0 cm. Between the first I and the *alpha* is a space from 4.5 cm. The first I of the last word is doubtful, the *theta* may be read as an *omikron*.

We have not been able to come up with a satisfying interpretation of the texts. It is important to note that these inscriptions would not have been visible once the statue had been erected. The quality of the letters is quite good, which suggests that they may have been a sort of exercise of the stonecutters.

The text may refer to a (local) name, but we have found no parallels. If we have to read TENIOS, this might be an ethnic. We will comment on this epigraphic material in the next years.

The main aims of the epigraphic project for the future are:

1. the decipherment and interpretation of the palimpsest texts;
2. the collection of all the epigraphic material pertaining to Nemrud Dağ and the interpretation of these documents within a wider cultural and historical framework that includes the other sanctuaries connected to the Kommagenian dynasty.

## 5. OUTLOOK FOR THE NEXT YEARS

One of the main characteristics of Antiochos' *hierothesion*, and surely one of its most impressive,

is the surrounding landscape. Like the hundreds of tourists visiting the place every day at sunrise and sunset, the ancient visitor must have been struck by this visual conquest of nature and will have gazed from the mountain in all directions. To the North the Anti-Taurus continues and one can see the Armenian Highlands; to the East the Euphrates lingers, its valley being clearly visible, to the South where the plains of Syria begin. To the West, after a range of mountains, one can see valleys where, amongst other places, Arsameia with the summer residence of the Kommagenian kings is located as well as Karakus. As several times indicated in our description of the monument (section 3) this natural surrounding had, in many ways, been made part of the concepts and building of the *hierothesion*. This plan did not only involve the monument proper: Nemrud Dağ was the centre of a much larger entity, a grid, as it were, with dynastic cult places on strategic mountain tops in the surrounding, all with a clear view on Nemrud Dağ. Also the area directly surrounding the mountain was integrated in this cultural landscape. As mentioned in the description (section 3) there were marked processional roads leading to the sanctuary from different directions.



Fig. 34. Nemrud Dağ, West Terrace, back side of the reliefs with the palimpsest texts (2001, photo E.M. Moormann).

For the next years the Nemrud Dağ Project will thus have three areas of interest. First and foremost the Nemrud Dağ *hierothesion* proper. Our main goal here is restoration and, at the same time, documentation (the SIS) and interpretation. It is striking how few interpretative studies on the monument exist; it is only with the sound essay of Wolfram Hoepfner that we begin to understand the meaning of the place in a wider, Hellenistic context.<sup>96</sup>

The documentation work (the SIS) and interpretative efforts will continue as described for the 2001 campaign. Also some new projects will be started. Most important are the beginning of a structural engineering project and a stone conservation project. Both will be executed in cooperation with the World Monuments Fund (WMF).

For the 2002 campaign the structural engineering project aims at:

1. a stabilization of dislocated stones at both terraces (specially at the East Terrace) and a bedrock stabilization of the row of statues;
2. a reconstruction of the base of the lion/eagle pair, in the first instance on the north side of the East terrace, which will be done by consolidation of the existing part with necessary repair and/or strengthening and re-building of damaged parts using dry stone masonry;
3. *anastilosis* of the eagle statue on the prepared base.

This first part of the engineering activities should also be considered as a pilot project by which methodology and techniques will be established and appropriate equipment will be checked and selected for future conservation and stabilization work. Also some emergency work will be executed, like the stabilization of the bedrock where this is urgently needed (for instance under the Zeus and Antiochos statues on the East Terrace)

The stone conservation project will deal with the condition survey of the monuments on the site, in situ testing of conservation materials and procedures as well as sampling of stone materials for subsequent analysis and laboratory testing. This way we hope to be able to present a risk assessment for the archaeological monument of Nemrud Dağ that will guide our further restoration and conservation activities.

The 2001 campaign established the fact that there is indeed pottery to be found on the mountain. We will therefore continue the survey and, moreover, try to come to a dating of our scarce finds in cooperation with the Leiden Institute for Pottery Technology.

There exists no comprehensive inventory of the artefacts from the monument, now scattered over the mountain itself, the villages around and the museums in Gaziantep, Adıyaman, Ankara, Berlin, etc. We will begin with defining the outlines of an inventory incorporating all artefacts from Nemrud Dağ.

As far as epigraphy is concerned, there will be made detailed 3D digital images of all the inscribed surfaces on Nemrud Dağ, with special attention for the palimpsest texts. For this purpose a sophisticated 3D scanner has been put at our disposal by the Groningen Institute of Archaeology.

This large restoration, conservation and documentation project will be contextualised by the study of the area around the mountain, the second point of interest, as well as, thirdly, the Kommagenean landscape and archaeological remains in a wider sense.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Composition of the team: professor Herman A.G. Brijder, project manager, professor Eric M. Moormann and dr Miguel John Versluys, acting project managers, drs Tesse D. Stek and Ellen Thiermann, SIS, all University of Amsterdam; professor Onno M. van Nijf and Marlies Schipperheijn, epigraphists, University of Groningen; ir. Hans Garlich and ing. Marinus Kremers, geodesists, Technical University Delft; Anne ten Brink, prehistorian, ir. Maurice L.A. Crijns, project coordinator, ir. Jaap Groot, constructing engineer, ing. Willian A.M. van den Bogaard, Auto CAD, engineer and virtual reconstructions, drs. Petronella J.M. van den Mortel, drawings and virtual reconstructions, all INF; Dipl.-Ing. Klaus-Dieter Kiepsch, 3D laser-scan, Callidus Precision Systems, Halle (Saale); Nurhan Turan and Levent Vardar, representatives Ministry of Culture of Turkey. We would like to thank the Turkish Ministry of Culture for its kind cooperation, especially Dr. Alpaz Pasinli for his personal commitment to the project. Also the great help of Halil Işık, governor of the province of Adıyaman, and of Bülent Akarcalı is acknowledged with gratitude.

<sup>2</sup> Sanders 1996.

<sup>3</sup> See already the (critical) review by B. Jacobs, *AM* 30 (1998) 339-346.

<sup>4</sup> See Sanders 1996, 26-32 for a more extensive overview of previous research.

<sup>5</sup> D.J. van Lennep (1774-1853), *Disputatio de regibus Commagenes et Ciliciae Seleucidarum posteris, lecta D. XVII mensis augusti et VIII mensis decembris MDCCCXXVIII*, no place, no date; Th. Mommsen, *AM* 1 (1876) 27-36. Both publications already mentioned by Wagner 2000, 11. Van Lennep presents an overview of the history of the area and its kings from the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onwards. In some cases coins are used as pieces of evidence but the research is soundly historical and based on the study of ancient sources like Josephus' *Antiquitates* and Dio's *Roman History*. Van Lennep even wrote another essay on this region:



*Disputatio de rege Bostreno aliisque rebus memoratis in Epistula Ciceronis ad Q. fratrem lib. II, 12. Lecta in Institutio Regii Belgici classe tertia d. XV mensis Augusti MDCC-CXXXI* (n.p., 14 p.) on the city of Zeugma.

- <sup>6</sup> For information on Dörner and an overview of his publications, see his Festschrift edited by S. Şahin, E. Schwertheim, J. Wagner 1978, *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien*, Leiden. The excavation of Arsameia, all in all the most thoroughly investigated Kommagenean site, was published in two volumes: Dörner/Goell 1963 and Hoepfner 1983.
- <sup>7</sup> See the list of expeditions in Sanders 1996, 82-85.
- <sup>8</sup> Waldmann H. 1973, *Die kommagenischen Kulturreformen unter König Mithridates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I.*, Leiden (EPRO 34); idem 1991, *Der kommagenische Mazdaismus*, Berlin (IstMitt Beih. 37) (note however that his conclusions are disputed and not generally accepted); Şahin 1991.
- <sup>9</sup> Wagner 2000, with previous literature.
- <sup>10</sup> Sanders 1996, XVII: '... it is clear that Goell and her assistants moved or at least overturned nearly every significant stone on the site. Thus, the current position and associations of such stones are not reliable guides to original site conditions.'
- <sup>11</sup> The best reconstruction is Utecht/Lütjen/Stein 1993, esp. fig. 5.
- <sup>12</sup> Such a bank made with large blocks is visible behind the colossi on the East Terrace.
- <sup>13</sup> See Utecht/Lütjen/Stein 1993.
- <sup>14</sup> Hoepfner 2000, 65.
- <sup>15</sup> To indicate them, we will further only use their first (i.e. Greek) designation.
- <sup>16</sup> The right foot of Zeus' throne is resting on some tuffit slabs.
- <sup>17</sup> Sanders 1996, 392 sees them as attributes used during prayers and offerings. In that case our figures are 'spendende Götter'.
- <sup>18</sup> Sanders 1996, 158.
- <sup>19</sup> Sanders 1996, 248, 448-449 (coronation), 252-253 (fragments of Lion Horoscope, including the stars' names). On the plateau see Sanders 1996, 106-109.
- <sup>20</sup> Sanders 1996, 104-105.
- <sup>21</sup> Sanders 1996, 159 n. 37.
- <sup>22</sup> For a definition of tuffit cf. section 3.4.
- <sup>23</sup> Sanders 1996, 230-231, fig. 266-267.
- <sup>24</sup> Sanders 1996, 123, 230.
- <sup>25</sup> In the following we describe them as if they were completely preserved.
- <sup>26</sup> Sanders 1996, 397-398.
- <sup>27</sup> This practice is clearly visible on the head seen in profile of the king on the *dexiosis* stele with Apollo.
- <sup>28</sup> This detail is hardly recognisable, but was observed and analysed by Goell (Sanders 1996, 200, 388, 470).
- <sup>29</sup> Re-use was already observed by Goell: Sanders 1996, 121, 232, 254, see further our section 4.4.
- <sup>30</sup> The stelae have been erected by Dörner in 1984 (Sanders 1996, 163 note 66). The base was slightly restored: the original situation can be seen on Sanders 1996, fig. 304.
- <sup>31</sup> For a detailed description see Sanders 1996, 232-254.
- <sup>32</sup> Sanders 1996, 396, 401, 410-413, only pointing at this feature specifically on page 445.
- <sup>33</sup> Sanders 1996, 121, 248 fig. 272-277. Cf. p. 234.
- <sup>34</sup> Goell feels a sense of humour in this detail and compares the ears to those of rabbits (Sanders 1996, 242-243).
- <sup>35</sup> Sanders 1996, 244.
- <sup>36</sup> Sanders 1996, 306: Goell replaced the altars; 355 (inscription).
- <sup>37</sup> In Sanders 1996, 254-355 (both terraces). See on the ancestor stelae most recently Messerschmidt W. 2000, *Die Ahnengalerie des Antiochos I. von Kommagene*, in: *Gottkönige am Euphrat*, 37-43 and Jacobs B. 2000, *Die Reliefs der Vorfahren des Antiochos I. von Kommagene auf dem Nemrud Dağı - Versuch einer Neubenennung der Frauendarstellungen in den mütterlichen Ahnenreihen*, *IstMit* 50, 297-306.
- <sup>38</sup> Sanders 1996, 128.
- <sup>39</sup> Sanders 1996, 94.
- <sup>40</sup> For a short characterisation of both stone types see Düppenbecker/Fitzner 1991. Sanders 1996 uses the term 'sandstone' throughout his work to describe the 'tuffit'. Sanders 1996, 156, note 21 vaguely hints at the place of the tuffit quarry. M. Crijns drew our attention to the spot.
- <sup>41</sup> Some cuttings in this small mountain suggest the presence of rooms, probably for officials or guards.
- <sup>42</sup> Sanders 1996, 192, fig. 129.
- <sup>43</sup> See Sanders 1996, fig. 100. Diameter shoulder socket 54 cm, diameter tenon 48 cm.
- <sup>44</sup> This peculiarity is also observed in Sanders 1996, 420, fig. 165. A similar incision can be seen on a block of the left eagle on the East Terrace. Other differences between the colossi of both terraces are listed in Sanders 1996, ibidem 449-454. He concludes (p. 454) that the colossi are identical despite these small differences.
- <sup>45</sup> To give some examples, on the West Terrace, the heads of Zeus, Kommagene and, Antiochos have four holes, Apollo has two holes, the eagle has three holes (the southern one has the beginning of a fourth at one side).
- <sup>46</sup> As a parallel one can point at the reconstruction project recently undertaken in the sanctuary in Xanthos (Lycia, Turkey) where the temple of Leto is being reconstructed with 80% of the blocks still present, cf. *Archéologia* 1/2002, 15 ff.
- <sup>47</sup> This work was carried out by members of the Technical University Delft, cf. for a detailed account Garlich J.H./M.J.M. Kremers, GPS-RTK mapping of Nemrud monument, *Geodesia* 2002-5, 188-193.
- <sup>48</sup> This work has not been done yet; finishing SIS level 2 for the East Terrace is one of the goals of the 2002 campaign (see further section 5).
- <sup>49</sup> See for this aspect in general Beck R. 1962, *Epiphanes of the great gods: astrology in the royal cult of Kommagene*, Toronto.
- <sup>50</sup> The following experts helped to tackle the problem of the Lion Horoscope: J. Meeus, J. Rademaker, C. de Jager (Space Research Organization, Utrecht), and G. Schilling (Artis Planetarium, Amsterdam).
- <sup>51</sup> C. Robert, *Eratosthenis catasterismorum libri XII* (1878) esp. 96.
- <sup>52</sup> Humann/Puchstein 1890, 331-336.
- <sup>53</sup> Humann/Puchstein 1890, 330.
- <sup>54</sup> Still starting from the premise that the date had to be found within the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Cf. Neugebauer O./H.B. van Hoesen, 1959, *Greek Horoscopes* (= *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, 48), Philadelphia, esp. 14-16 cat. no. 61.
- <sup>55</sup> Sanders 1996, 172.
- <sup>56</sup> W. Haase, *AW Sondernummer 6, Kommagene* (1975) 21.
- <sup>57</sup> Tuckerman B., 1962, *Planetary, Lunar and Solar Positions 601 B.C. to A.D. 1*, Philadelphia.
- <sup>58</sup> O. Neugebauer had calculated this date as a possible option.
- <sup>59</sup> The sequence of these heavenly bodies as depicted on the Lion horoscope is different (from right to left:

- Moon, Jupiter, Mercury and Mars) due to the differing velocities of their circulation.
- <sup>60</sup> Humann/Puchstein 1890, 346.
- <sup>61</sup> A handy chronological table can be consulted in Wagner 2000, 25. The last date differs: one also finds 38 and 32.
- <sup>62</sup> East IA, 20-24; text in Sanders 1996, 208.
- <sup>63</sup> Young 1964 (heads); Şahin 1991, 116 (utensils); Hoepfner 2000, 66; B. Jacobs, *IstMit* 50 (2000) 303.
- <sup>64</sup> Goell (in Sanders 1996, 232) thought that Antiochos probably had planned a *nomos* text, later replaced by the text we see nowadays. No chronological consequences were drawn from this observation.
- <sup>65</sup> No stele portraying Antiochos himself has been found. According to Jacobs 2000, 48-49 Antiochos did not erect an image of himself in this series because he was placed among the gods. Notwithstanding Jacobs' dating of the whole monument to the reign of Antiochos (p. 34-35), this may be true.
- <sup>66</sup> The work can have been done in a rather short lapse of time. Utecht/Lütjen/Stein 1993 point at the relatively small amount of energy and work needed to construct the tumulus with its layer of gravel.
- <sup>67</sup> See most recently Wagner 2000, 18, 21-22.
- <sup>68</sup> Sanders 1996, 449.
- <sup>69</sup> Wagner 2000, 23-24 points at the simple forms of the Karakuş tumulus.
- <sup>70</sup> Waldmann 1973 (see n. 8), 54; Şahin 1991, 115.
- <sup>71</sup> Sanders 1996, 141-143 and 163 n. 65; Jacobs 2000, 35; Hoepfner 2000, 66.
- <sup>72</sup> Hoepfner 2000, 67.
- <sup>73</sup> Hoepfner 2000, 65 considers these steps as 'Sitzstufen für Zuschauer in der Art einer Theateranlage'. Even if the idea is plausible, one may wonder that the attendants could not see the statues which played a fundamental role in the setting (and perhaps in the ceremonies to be celebrated).
- <sup>74</sup> Sanders 1996, 106: 'a row of five sandstone reliefs flanked at the north and south ends by a group composed of free-standing lions and eagles'.
- <sup>75</sup> See Sanders 1996, figs. 318-322 (Lion horoscope fragments) and 234-235 (other fragments).
- <sup>76</sup> Humann/Puchstein 1890, plate XXII.
- <sup>77</sup> According to one of our local informants, who practiced the catchment of kekliks, these birds are caught by luring birds to another put into a cave and there is no need of a large built construction.
- <sup>78</sup> Hoepfner 2000, 65: 'Zentrum der Kulthandlung ist in jedem Heiligtum ein Altar, auf dem der große Opfer vollzogen wurde....' But the idea of a 'fire altar' is 'Folge einer willkürlichen Bezeichnung'. The participants were to sit on the plateau under the statues.
- <sup>79</sup> Utecht/Lütjen/Stein 1993, fig. 14, no. R2.
- <sup>80</sup> Apparently Hoepfner 2000, 70-71 does not object to the concept of an altar, comparing it to a pantheon at Kamiros.
- <sup>81</sup> This element seems not to have been changed during the restoration work by Dörner in 1984 (see Sanders 1996, fig. 271), as becomes clear from Sanders 1996, fig. 304. Sanders 1996, 163 note 66 tells that Dörner even had tuff blocks made for the basis. For Dörner's restoration see Sanders 1996, fig. 271.
- <sup>82</sup> Humann/Puchstein 1890, 282.
- <sup>83</sup> The drawings, however, show the old sequence (e.g. fig. 87), which makes the reading of Goell's work rather confusing.
- <sup>84</sup> A fragment of the tip of Antiochos' tiara of the East Terrace lies near the Kommagene head.
- <sup>85</sup> Antiochos helped Pompey with 200 archers in his battle against Caesar (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* III 4; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II 49), cf. Sanders 1996, 23; Wagner 2000, 25 (time table).
- <sup>86</sup> Hoepfner 2000, 68 considers the choice as free, done at random. He follows the idea of a *pantheon* as proposed in older publications.
- <sup>87</sup> Young 1964. We seriously consider the possibility that the Apollo (fig. 11) was left unfinished as well because of the extremely roundish outlines and the fish-like closed lips. Whether true or not, it doesn't detract from the general conclusions.
- <sup>88</sup> This peculiarity is also observed in Sanders 1996, 453, but without drawing any conclusions out of it.
- <sup>89</sup> The pilot-survey was planned, set-up and executed by Anne ten Brink and Miguel John Versluys.
- <sup>90</sup> See, for instance, Şahin 1991.
- <sup>91</sup> Sanders 1996, 153 note 9. On the entries and the stelae Sanders 1996, 94-96.
- <sup>92</sup> On the terraces Goell found in all years of excavation some six Roman and Byzantine coins, see Sanders 1996, 472-474.
- <sup>93</sup> Remains and fragments of inscriptions that were discovered by earlier campaigns are now dispersed over a number of Turkish and other musea.
- <sup>94</sup> Publications: Humann/Puchstein 1890, 262-278; Cumont II 1896, 89-91; Michel 1900, 735; OGIS 383, 591-603; Laum 1914, 148-153; Waldis 1920, 3-11; IGLS I, 1929, 12-26; Dörner 1953, 143-146; Waldmann 1973, 61-71; Sanders 1996, 207-213.
- <sup>95</sup> Puchstein already noticed this palimpsest as is clear from a footnote in description of the Zeus-stele: 'Unter dieser grossen Weihinschrift habe ich bei gewisser Beleuchtung auf der glatt gewaschenen Fläche des Steins bisweilen lange Reihen kleiner Buchstaben wahrzunehmen geglaubt, ohne dass es mir möglich war, irgend einen bestimmten Buchstaben zu erkennen. Auf einem Abklatsch dieser Fläche ist dergleichen jedoch nichts zu bemerken.' (Humann/Puchstein 1890, 325).
- <sup>96</sup> Hoepfner 2000.

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# Die zerstörte Nekropole 'Via Imperiale' und die Mosaiken der Kirche S. Balbina in Rom

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Die Ausgrabung im Bereich der Via Imperiale 'ha portato scoperta di un grande numero di edifici sepolcrali che attestano la presenza di una vasta necropoli anteriore all'allargamento del pomerio fino alla linea della nuova cinta fortificata, fatto da Aureliano...' schreibt Massimo Pallottino 1941 in seinem Bericht über die Aktivitäten der römischen Soprintendenza in den Jahren der urbanistischen Neuorientierung unter dem Governorato Mussolini.<sup>1</sup> Diese Nekropole 'vasta' ist ein Desiderat der Forschung, denn zahlreiche Funde bewahrt das Museo Nazionale Romano, Notizen, Fotos und Grabungsskizzen die Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma im Archivio Storico (Sede Palazzo Altemps) und Institutionen wie Forma Urbis Romae und italienische Kollegen wie Lucia Avetta und Silvio Panciera bemühen sich um die Klärung der Zusammenhänge.

Insofern erscheint eine 'Wiederausgrabung' der Notgrabung in den Jahren 1938-1940 in dieser topographisch wichtigen Zone gerechtfertigt. Miteinbezogen werden die Befunde in der Kirche S. Balbina (*Abb. 1, 3*) und die archäologischen Informationen und Pläne von der Region am Kleinen Aventin in der Hoffnung, dass derartige Untersuchungen die Lage der Nekropolen und des Pomeriums weiter erhellen.

Zahlreiche Ausgrabungen, Publikationen, Einzelbesprechungen und typologische Untersuchungen der letzten Jahre zeigen das grosse wissenschaftliche Interesse an den römischen Sepulkralmonumenten; sie zeigen aber auch die breitgefächerte Palette der Fragestellungen nach soziologischen und gestalterischen Aspekten. Insofern scheint es gerechtfertigt, die einzelnen Monumente der nicht mehr existierenden Nekropole getrennt voneinander zu dokumentieren, auch wenn spärliche Befunde vorhandene Lücken schmerzlich spürbar machen. - Über die Architekturform hinaus stehen die Zuordnung der Funde und die Innenausstattung im Mittelpunkt der allgemeinen Betrachtung, weil dadurch das antike Monument lebendig, anschaulich und identifizierbar wird. - Mit der Ausstattung spätrepublikanischer und frühkaiserzeitlicher Grabbauten - speziell Columbarien - beschäftigen sich zwei neuere Studien,

die die Nekropole 'Via Imperiale' unberücksichtigt lassen.<sup>2</sup> Umso wichtiger erscheint die Vorlage der wenn auch bruchstückhaften Befunde.

Weil im Zuge der Ausgrabungen in diesem Gebiet zahlreiche Mosaiken in die 1928 restaurierte Kirche S. Balbina überführt wurden, muss zunächst auf die Kirche selbst, die moderne Strassenführung und die Ausgrabungsberichte eingegangen werden, um Anhaltspunkte für die Besprechung der einzelnen Grabdenkmäler zu gewinnen.

## DIE KIRCHE S. BALBINA ALL'AVENTINO

Die 1928 grundlegend restaurierte antike Kirche S. Balbina stammt in ihrem Kern aus der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts.<sup>3</sup> Sie ist dem Gedächtnis der Hl. Balbina geweiht, der nach der legendären Passio des 6. Jahrhunderts ein Heilungswunder widerfahren ist. Sie erlitt um das Jahr 130 n.Chr. das Martyrium und wurde nahe der Via Appia im coemeterium S. Balbina beigesetzt.<sup>4</sup> Die Kirche liegt in der Regio XII oberhalb der Caracalla-Thermen<sup>5</sup> auf dem Kleinen Aventin<sup>6</sup> zwischen dem Viale Guido Baccelli und Via S. Balbina.

Diese Gegend wurde schon früh archäologisch untersucht. So veröffentlichte beispielsweise Pietro Santi Bartoli ein heute zerstörtes prächtiges zweigeschossiges Hypogäum in der Vigna Cavalieri an den Hängen des Aventin zwischen S. Saba und der Aurelianischen Mauer.<sup>7</sup> In über 13 m Tiefe wurde eine zentrale tonnengewölbte Kammer festgestellt, umgeben von einem Gang in Retikulatmauerwerk. Auf dem Mosaikboden der mittleren Kammer standen Urnen und Aschenaltäre. Bartoli berichtete darüber hinaus von den Ausgrabungen Alessandro Farneses zwischen 1534 und 1549 im Bereiche der Caracalla-Thermen.<sup>8</sup>

Die Kirche wurde in den Mauern der Domus des Lucius Fabius Cilon errichtet. Dieses Haus schenkte Septimius Severus seinem Freund, dem Stadtpräfekten des Jahres 203 und Konsul im Jahre 204 n.Chr. Reste von hadrianischem Mauerwerk mit Retikulat und Ziegeldurchschuss sind im Bereich des ehemaligen Klosters von S. Balbina, heute das Seniorenheim Istituto di S. Margherita



*Abb. 1. S. Balbina, Mosaiken, Inst. Neg. Rom 78.502.*



*Abb. 2. S. Balbina, Vorhalle, Inst. Neg. Rom 78. 506.*



*Abb. 3. S. Balbina, Schola cantorum mit Rankenmosaik aus Columbarium 1, Inst. Neg. Rom 78.509.*

da Cortona, erhalten. Im Mittelalter wurde das Kloster von griechischen Mönchen bewohnt.<sup>9</sup>

Die Basilika liegt auf einem wesentlich höheren Niveau als die Domus Cilonis. - Zahlreiche Funde aus dem Bereich von S. Balbina zeugen von der Tradition des Ortes. Eine 1727 in der Umgebung der Kirche gefundene Inschrift belegt den Mithraskult auf dem kleinen Aventin.<sup>10</sup>

Die Seitenwände des Kirchenraumes gliedern sich in je sechs alternierend rechteckige und halbkreisförmige Nischen, vor denen - wie im Kirchenschiff - in der Neuzeit 1939 antike Bodenmosaiken verlegt wurden; den östlichen Abschluss bildet eine halbrunde Apsis mit umlaufender Marmorbank, unterbrochen durch die zentrale Nische der Apsis, in der ein in Kosmatentechnik<sup>11</sup> verzierter Thron (13. Jh.) steht. Hinter einer Marmorschranke öffnet sich die schola cantorum aus dem 7. oder dem Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts (*Abb. 3*). Die Marmorplatten liess Jean Verdier, Erzbischof von Paris und Titelnkardinal, im Jahre 1931 rekonstruieren und stiftete sie der Kirche. Rechts vom Eingang ist das prächtige Grab des Kardinals Surdi mit kosmatesken Friesen - ein Werk von Giovanni di Cosma (1303); in der vierten Seitenkapelle rechts befindet sich ein Kreuzigungsrelief von Mino da Fiesole oder Giovanni Dalmata aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Die Kirche bewahrt darüber hinaus bedeutende Reste von Wandmalereien aus dem 9. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert und zahlreiche Spolien aus der nahgelegenen Nekropole (*Abb. 1-3*).

#### DIE NEKROPOLE 'VIA IMPERIALE' UND DIE STRASSENPLANUNG FASCHISTISCHER ZEIT

Bei der Anlage der 'Via Imperiale',<sup>12</sup> der heutigen Via Cristoforo Colombo, wurde dieses Gräberfeld zwischen Caracalla-Thermen und Aurelianischer Mauer 1938-1939 völlig abgeräumt und zerstört.<sup>13</sup> Die Strasse wurde von dem Ingenieur E. Del Bufalo projektiert; die Arbeiten unterlagen der Aufsicht von Inspektor A. Muñoz und des Ingenieurs G. Corsetti. Den Auftakt der Aktivitäten bildete der traditionelle Schlag des Duce mit der Spitzhacke in römischen Boden bei der Piazzale del Circo Massimo am 21. April 1938.<sup>14</sup>

Die Neuordnung der Zone geht auf den Generaldirektor der Altertümer und schönen Künste des Governorats (1928-1944) und Mitglied der Faschistischen Kommission für den Generalplan 1931 des bereits erwähnten Antonio Muñoz zurück, dem die Umgestaltung nicht nur dieses mit Altertümern durchsetzten Areals, sondern die gesamte städtebauliche Veränderung, 'recenti sistemazioni', zwischen Kapitol und Via del Mare

oblag.<sup>15</sup> Muñoz war Regisseur der 'Aufwertung' (valorizzazione) der antiken Monumente und ihrer Reinigung von späteren als störend empfundenen Konstruktionen (costruzione parassitaria). Er restaurierte fast alle Monumente und Kirchen der Umgebung<sup>16</sup> und verfolgte bei der Gestaltung der freigelegten Monumente die romantische Auffassung von Aufforstung und Begrünung; sprichwörtlich wurden 'die Zypressen von Muñoz'.<sup>17</sup>

Eilige Ausgrabungen im Bereich der Kaiserforen (Augustusforum 1924-1930, Trajansforum 1928-1934, Caesarforum 1930, Via dei Fori Imperiali 1932) bewirkten eine Neustrukturierung, bei der die 'Via dei Fori Imperiali'<sup>18</sup> die Verbindung mit dem Kolosseum herstellte. Dieses wirkte als dominanter Solitärbau am Ende der Sichtachse der 'Via dei Trionfi' mit dem Konstantinsbogen bis zur Porta Capena<sup>19</sup> - mit dem weiteren Strassenverlauf - zum einen entlang des Obelisk von Axum und der Viale Aventino zur Porta S. Paolo und zum anderen, im weiten Bogen den Aventin umfassend, zur 'Via Imperiale', seit 1948 Via Cristoforo Colombo, als Erschliessung der triumphalen Platzensembles, Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana ('Colosseo quadrato') und Palazzo dei Riconvalescenti e Congressi.<sup>20</sup>

Muñoz publizierte 1931 seine im Jahre 1928 in S. Balbina durchgeführten Restaurierungen.<sup>21</sup> Daraus geht hervor, dass im Obergaden über der durch drei italische Rundbögen geöffneten tiefen Portikus oder Narthex drei gotisierende und ebenfalls nicht originale Fenster durch eine umlaufende Galerie von Rundbogenfenstern ersetzt wurden. In der Apside liegen die Fenster unterhalb des Kalottenansatzes. Nach der Öffnung der vermauerten Fenster wurden wie bei anderen frühchristlichen Kirchen unter anderem in S. Sabina antikisierende Stuck-Transennen eingesetzt.

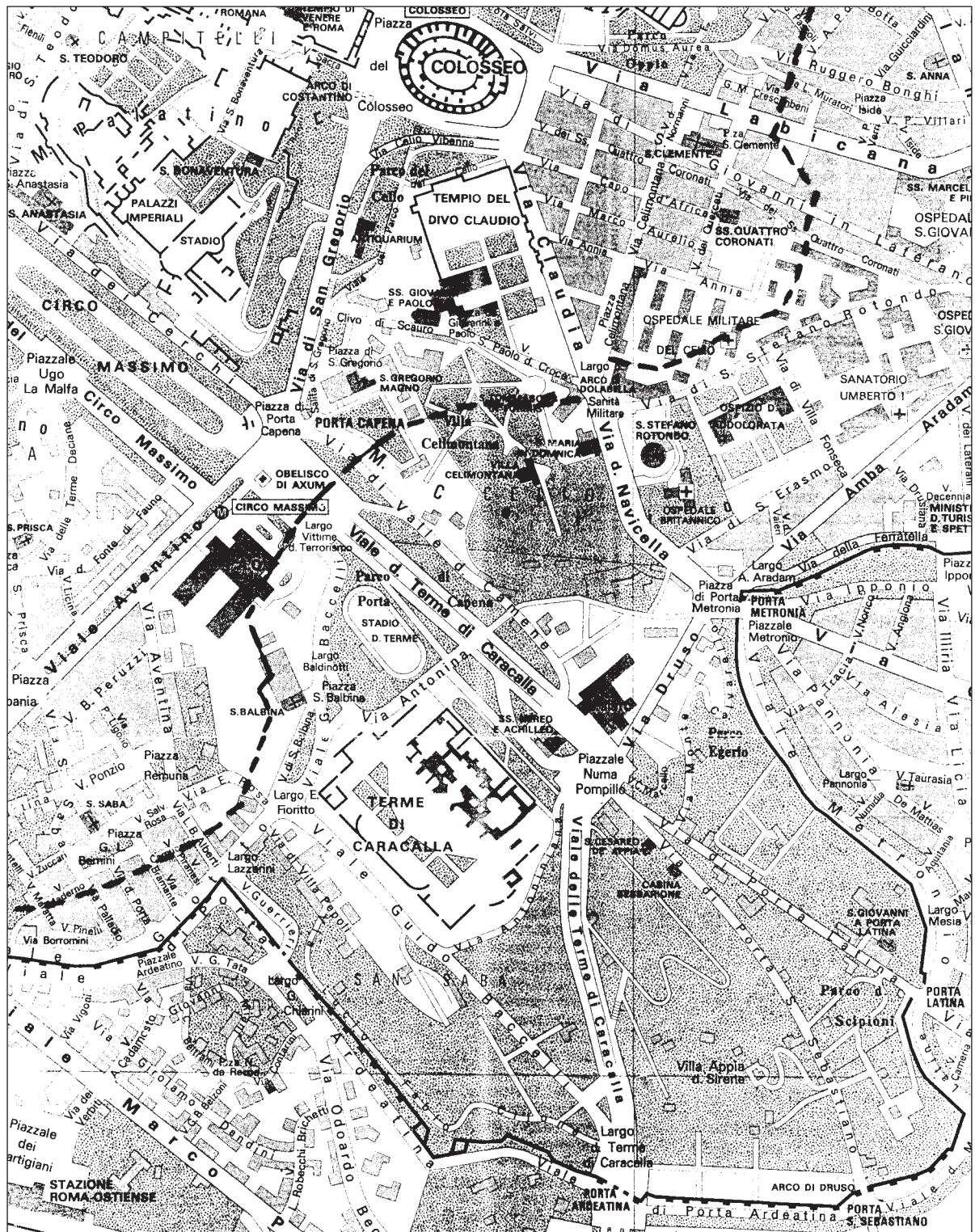
In der Portikus der Kirche befindet sich ein kleines Lapidarium (*Abb. 2*), unter anderem mit antiken Dachziegeln, von denen einige eventuell wie die in der Kirche verlegten Mosaiken aus der Nekropole bei der zwischen 1537 und 1542 unter Paul III. errichteten Bastione del Sangallo oder der näheren Umgebung stammen können.<sup>22</sup> So birgt die Kirche die letzten wertvollen Zeugnisse der Nekropole nahe ihres Ursprungsortes.

Die Bebauungspläne zeigen, dass die Zone bis 1926 noch weitgehend Gartenlandschaft war und erst seit 1936 systematisch bebaut wurde.

#### STRASSENBAU UND AUSGRABUNGSNACHRICHTEN

Über die Anlage der 'Via Imperiale' berichtete Heinrich Fuhrmann.<sup>23</sup> Sie wurde im Rahmen der





Taf. 1. Ausschnitt aus dem römischen Stadtplan: Pomeriumsgrenze, Nekropole und Torsituation an der Aurelianischen Mauer (---= Pomerium nach Lugli, Fontes).



Abb. 4. Aurelianische Mauer und Columbarium 31 mit Lorenbahn, Foto: Archivio Storico.

Vorbereitung zur E 42, der für 1942 vorgesehenen aber nicht realisierten Esposizione Universale di Roma angelegt, die als Propagandaveranstaltung zur Feier des zwanzigsten Jahrestages des Marschs auf Rom 1922 und als Olympiade der Kulturen geplant war. Dieser Umstand erklärt die Eile und geringe Sorgfalt der durchgeführten Sondagen, der die italienischen Kollegen mit zahlreichen wissenschaftlichen Artikeln zu begegnen suchten.

Die neue Strasse verläuft zwischen Via Appia<sup>24</sup> und Via Ostiense entlang der alten Strasse nach Ardea, die den Aventin überquert. Von der Porta Capena Regio I ausgehend, führt sie über die Viale Guido Baccelli und passiert die vom Palatin ausgehende Passeggiata Archeologica.<sup>25</sup>

Diese Passeggiata ist ein altes Projekt, das Guido Baccelli, nachdem die Strasse hinter den Thermen benannt ist, bereits 1887 vorlegte, das aber zunächst an den enormen Kosten scheiterte. Am 21. April 1916 wurde der Spaziergang mit Ruinenbesichtigung eingeweiht, doch in der Zeit des Faschismus unter dem Motto 'Roma al mare' an einem der neuralgischen Verkehrspunkte verändert. Die Passeggiata Archeologica wird auch als Parco di Porta Capena bezeichnet.

Die oben beschriebene neue Strasse wendet sich vor den Caracalla-Thermen nach Süden und

durchbricht die Aurelianische Mauer nahe der Porta Ardeatina.<sup>26</sup> Der vierbogige Mauerdurchbruch für die moderne Strasse nach Castel Fusano, alter Besitz der Familie Chigi, wurde am 28. Oktober 1939 zusammen mit den Abschnitten Piazza Numa Pompilio bis zur Mauer und zur Pineta von Castel Fusano feierlich eingeweiht.<sup>27</sup>

Damit war das Schicksal der bis dahin durch den Bogen des Acquedotto Antoniniano<sup>28</sup> geschützten Nekropole besiegelt. Der Aquädukt führte einst die Aqua Marcia an die Thermen heran und verschwindet bei S. Sebastiano in der Vigna Casali unter der Erde. Am Largo delle Terme di Caracalla wurden rudimentäre Konstruktionen in opus signinum gefunden, die der grosszügigen Anlage des Largo weichen mussten (Taf. 1).

Die Bauarbeiten berührten die Vignen Moroni, Casali,<sup>29</sup> Volpi und Guerrieri. Zwischen Bastione del Sangallo und Via Appia, nahe der heutigen Villa Almone, befand sich das grosse Nekropolengebiet, das im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert reiche Befunde erbrachte, die aber nur noch in zeitgenössischen Zeichnungen fassbar sind.<sup>30</sup>

Die erste Nachricht vom 17. November 1938 über die Nekropole in engerem Sinn zwischen Aurelianischer Mauer und Caracalla-Thermen war an den, dem Ministero della Educazione



(Direzione Nazionale Antichità e Belle Arti) unterstellten, Soprintendente Pietro Romanelli gerichtet. In der Folge wurde in dieser Zone eine Reihe von Columbarien mit Brand-Urnen und Körperbestattungen entdeckt.

In einer zweiten Mitteilung vom 20. Dezember des gleichen Jahres heisst es, dass alle Mosaiken aus den Columbarien 'abgenommen worden waren, um Teil des Museo Nazionale Romano' zu werden. Die photographische Dokumentation im Archiv der Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma scheint das zu bestätigen. Die Fotos zeigen einige Columbarien in situ und die Grabungssituation mit der Lorenbahn vor dem Hintergrund der Aurelianischen Mauer (Abb. 4). Einige Grabungsfotos lassen Mosaikfussböden noch in situ erkennen, von denen aber nur wenige mit den Mosaiken in S. Balbina (vgl. Abb. 1, 3) zu identifizieren sind. Details einiger Blütenformen und Rankendolden machen deutlich, dass es sich bei diesen Mosaiken und denen in der Kirche um die gleiche Mosaikwerkstatt handelt.

Mit der offiziellen Mitteilung über die Neufunde von der Via Imperiale und der Via Ardeatina des damaligen Grabungsleiters Paolo Enrico Arias in seinem Vortrag am 30. März 1939 (dem 17. Jahr der faschistischen Ära) im Museo dell'Impero (heute Museo della Civiltà Romana) endete die Möglichkeit, das wechselvolle Schicksal der Nekropole weiter zu verfolgen. Darüber hinaus fiel das Grabungstagebuch von Arias einem Luftangriff, von dem seine Wohnung betroffen war, zum Opfer.

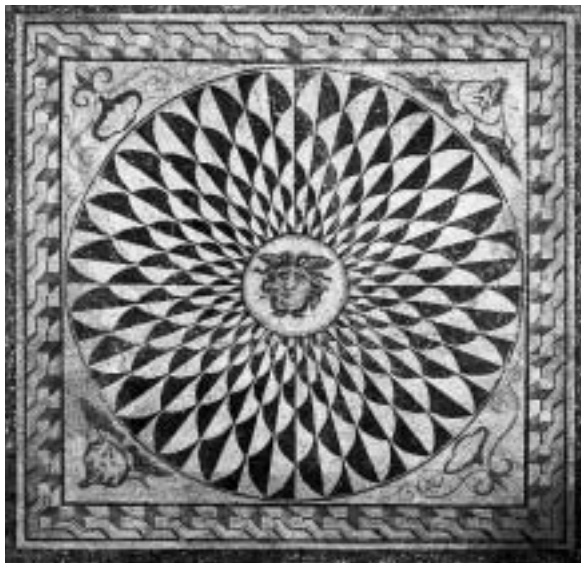


Abb. 5. Medusen-Mosaik aus Columbarium 25, MNR 125532.

Die Ausgrabung begann im Herbst 1938. Im April 1939 wurde die Reihe von Columbarien und die Reste eines römischen Hauses mit opus sectile-Böden gefunden. Der dort ansässige Bauunternehmer Sincies Chienentin zerstörte vieles im Bereich des hadrianisch datierten Hauses und der Nekropole - so auch angeblich ein Mosaik mit der Darstellung einer 'Mänadenbüste' (vgl. Abb. 5).<sup>31</sup> Die diesbezügliche Korrespondenz und Fundnotizen von Arias befinden sich im Archivio Storico in Palazzo Altemps (vgl. Anhang 1, 2).<sup>32</sup>

Arias publizierte 1942 zwei claudische Grabaren aus diesem Nekropolenbereich, die ebenfalls in das Museo Nazionale Romano gelangten, leider ohne Angabe des genauen Fundortes bzw. der zugehörigen Grabmonumente.<sup>33</sup>

1. Inv. 121960 B; ohne Deckel und ohne Inschrift, Widderköpfe und Blumen-Fruchtgirlanden, an den Seiten patera und guttus; die Rückseite ist unbearbeitet. Auf der Vorderseite befindet sich über der Girlande ein Medusenhaupt, darunter ein Reiher im Schlangenkampf.<sup>34</sup>
2. Inv. 121985 A; mit Deckel und Blattpulvini, an den vier Seiten sind die Girlanden an Dreifüssen aufgehängt; diese Grabara enthielt noch Aschenreste; an allen vier Seiten symmetrische Fruchtgirlanden, auf der Vorderseite Rabenvogel, der eine Schlange beisst, unter der Girlande ein ebensolcher, der eine Eidechse frisst. Die Inschrift nennt den Grabherrn C. Iulius Proculus.<sup>35</sup>

Darüber hinaus veröffentlichte Arias den berühmten Landlebensarkophag.<sup>36</sup>

Die Malereien und Mosaiken sind nach den spärlichen Anhaltspunkten überwiegend in das 2. Jh. zu datieren. Zahlreiche Mosaiken befinden sich, wie erwähnt, in S. Balbina,<sup>37</sup> die übrigen wurden dem Museo Nazionale Romano überstellt.

#### ZU DEN ANTIKEN MOSAIKEN IN S. BALBINA

Zu dem originalen Fussbodenmaterial der Kirche gehören die runden Granitplatten (Dm 1.13-1.40 m); die Bruchstücke von Portasanta und Africano sind neuzeitlich zugeschnitten. Diese Elemente gliedern optisch die nachträglich eingebrachten Mosaiken (Abb. 1, 3).

Die Beschreibung der Mosaiken in der Kirche werden an dieser Stelle der der Columbarien vorangestellt, weil sie einen gesonderten Komplex bilden und nur in wenigen Fällen den Grabbauten zugeordnet werden können, die jedoch - wo das möglich ist - herangezogen werden (im Folgenden mit C. zitiert).

Im Mittelgang des Kirchenschiffs rahmen



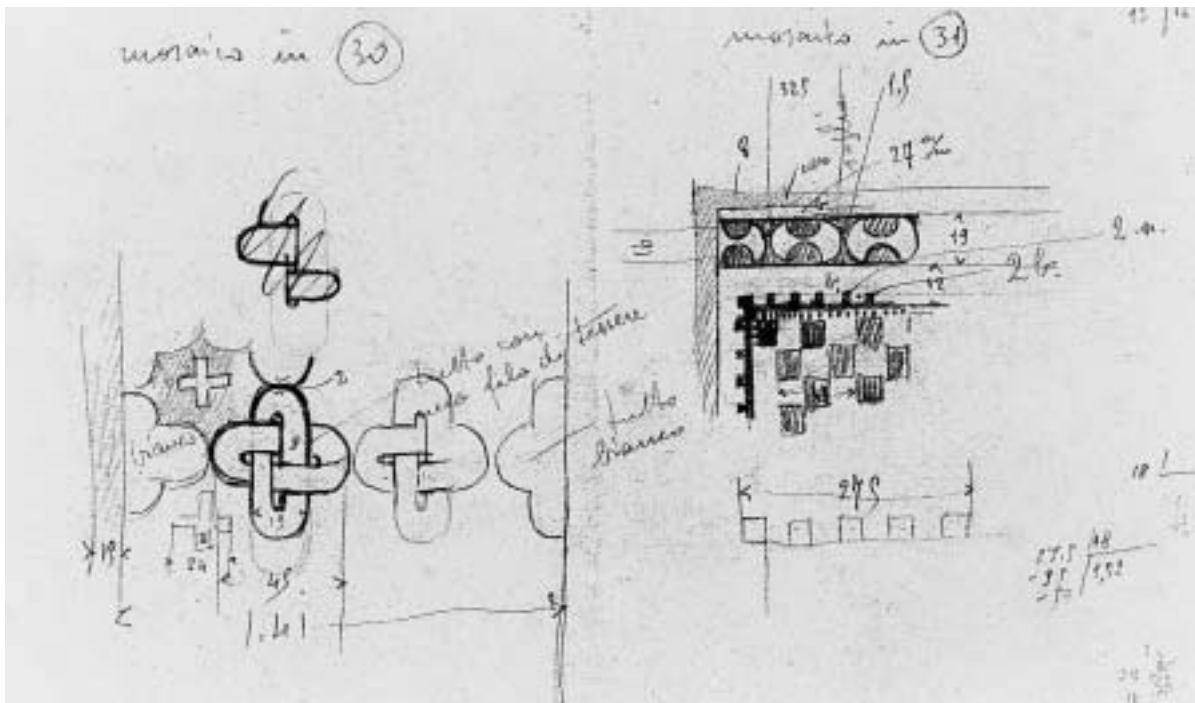


Abb. 6. Grabungsskizzen von Mosaiksystemen in Columbarium 30 und 31.

neuzeitliche Mosaikfriese in Form von dunklen Blattfächern aufweissem Grund die durch die runden Granitplatten unterbrochenen Mosaikfelder. Die Breite der antiken Mosaiken ist durch die Friesrahmung (Br. 24 cm)<sup>38</sup> auf 1.55 m festgelegt. Am Eingang ist ein schwarz-weiß Mosaik mit Kreuzen (gleichlange Kreuzarme) und Salomon-Knoten verlegt (H 1.38 m). Dieses Mosaik stammt nach Ausweis der Grabungsskizze aus C. 30 (Abb. 6). Das abstrakte Flechtmotiv des Salomon-Knoten tritt seit augusteischer Zeit zusammen mit Kreuzen als überabwender Schwellen- oder Eingangsschutz auf.<sup>39</sup> Darauf folgt ein moderner Mosaik-Kantharos aus dunklen tessellae zwischen rautenförmig gegitterten Feldern (H 77 cm).<sup>40</sup> Das dritte Mosaikfeld zeigt einen doppel-T-förmigen Mäander in der Mitte flankiert von Winkel-Quadraten (H 76 cm). Das vierte Motiv ist eine stilisierte Akanthusstaude, ein Komposit-Ornament mit seitlichen Rankenvoluten (H 76 cm). Das fünfte Mosaik (H 1.75 m) im Mittelgang vor der Marmorschanke schmückt ein verankertes Quadrat mit der Darstellung eines Vogels zwischen Zweigen, umgeben von schildförmigen Blättern. Das Ensemble wird von einem Hakenmäander gerahmt.<sup>41</sup> Dieses Mosaik stammt aus C. 5 der Nekropole (Abb. 7).

An der Schwelle zur Sängerkanzel erläutert

eine moderne Mosaik-Inschrift (H 66 cm) in schwarz-weißen tessellae - flankiert von 2 Rautensternen und kleinen vierblättrigen Kleeblättern (H 66 cm) - die Herkunft der Mosaiken aus der Nekropole: *Frammenti di mosaici della necropoli del sec. DC rinvenuti sotto la via Imperiale entro Mura Aureliane restaurati e [comp]letati Sac. Castolo Ghezzi MCMXXXIX XVII*. Demnach wurden die Mosaiken durch den Geistlichen Castolo Ghezzi im Jahre 1939 restauriert und 'vervollständigt' (Abb. 8).

Es folgt ein kleineres Rechteckfeld (H 55 cm), worin zwei Salomon-knoten zwei geometrische Blütensterne flankieren. Die einzelnen Quadrate sind durch ein Flechtband und vierblättrige Kleeblätter in den Ecken gerahmt.

Vor dem Hochaltar befindet sich ein grosses quadratisches Mosaik (2.70 x 2.70 m) mit sehr dekorativen, abstrakten Spiralranken. Es ist umgeben von einem Lattenzaunmotiv und stellt eventuell den hortus conclusus dar; die Ecken sind überkreuz mit Blattrosetten und Vögeln auf einem Mohnstengel geschmückt.<sup>42</sup>

Wie auch die Blattranken ist die Mohnkapsel - der Mohn, der die Träume bringt, - ein gängiges Motiv der Sepulkralkunst. Häufig handelt es sich um stilisierte Weinranken - wie im Grab des Pomponius Hylas mit einer tiberisch-flavischen



Abb. 7. S. Balbina, Vogelmosaik mit Mäanderrahmung aus Columbarium 5, Foto: Verfasser.

Belegung.<sup>43</sup> Der Wein verheisst als Symbol der dionysischen Religion das Weiterleben im Jenseits. Rankendekor mit Tieren (Vögeln und Insekten) wird neben Blüten, Früchten und Pflanzen gern in Gräbern dargestellt und entspricht der Vorstellung von der grünumrankten Idylle der vornehmen Grabbezirke, dem Grab-Hain<sup>44</sup> von dem die Grabepigramme künden.<sup>45</sup>

Vor der ersten Kapelle rechts befindet sich ein rechteckiges Schachbrettmosaik (0.99 x 2.52 m),<sup>46</sup> seitlich begrenzt durch ein Muster, das bis ins 5. Jahrhundert gebräuchlich ist, - drei schmale Friese: einsteiniger Wechsel von schwarzen und weissen Mosaiksteinen, Zinnenmotiv<sup>47</sup> und weissen Amazonenschilden auf schwarzem Grund. Nach Ausweis der Grabungsskizze (Abb. 6) stammt das Mosaik aus C. 31.

Vor der zweiten Kapelle ist ein Rechteckmosaik (0.99 x 2.55 m) mit Zodiakus-Darstellungen eingelassen (Abb. 9). Zweireihig angeordnete Oktogone zeigen, gerahmt von geometrischen Formen (Rechteck, Sanduhrmotiv), die Monatsbilder aus dem zodiakalen Zwölfmonatszyklus, in dem jedes Tierkreiszeichen durch eine der zwölf Hauptgottheiten regiert wird. Die zeitliche Gliederung entspricht dem Typus eines astronomi-



Abb. 8. S. Balbina, Mosaikinschrift zur Restaurierung im Jahre 1939, Inst. Neg. Rom 78. 512.





Abb. 9. S. Balbina, Zodiakus-Mosaik, Inst. Neg. Rom 78. 513.

schen Kalenders hellenistischer Zeit und ist ikonographisch ein seltener Typus des Zodiakus.<sup>48</sup> Nach pompejanischen Beispielen kann er erst nach der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jhs. datiert werden. Das Zeichen der Waage wird durch das Instrument selbst dargestellt, das ikonographisch weniger bekannt ist als die Verbindung mit figürlichen Elementen. Nächste Vergleichsbeispiele finden sich in Ostia in den Tierbildern in den Terme dei Sette Sapienti um 130 n.Chr. oder dem Tierkreiszeichenmosaik im Mithräum von den Sieben Sphären.<sup>49</sup>

Im Inneren dieser Kapelle ist ein Marmorboden mit modernem Mosaikreifen verlegt.

Vor der dritten Seitenkapelle rechts befindet sich ein Mosaik mit reicher Laubranke und drei Vögeln (H 0.99 x 2.60 m); die Ranke scheint aus einer kräftigen Staude emporzuwachsen.

In der vierten Kapelle ist lediglich der Altar von einem antiken Flechtband-Mosaik gerahmt.

Auf der linken Seite des Kirchenschiffs ist vor der ersten Kapelle ein Mosaik mit dem geläufigen Motiv aus schwarz-weißen Schildblättern verlegt (0.97 x 2.52 m). Vor der folgenden Kapelle befindet sich ein geometrisches Mosaik mit verkanteten Quadraten und variierenden Zentralmotiven

(0.96 x 2.62 m). In dieser Kapelle werden zwei polychrome Mosaikfragmente aufbewahrt (vgl. Abb 115 evt. C. 15).<sup>50</sup> Vor der dritten Seitenkapelle links ist ein Mosaikfeld (1.00 x 2.61 m) mit Ranken und stilisierten Blütenspiralen eingelassen, diesmal ohne Vögel.

Die beschriebenen Mosaiken stammen auf Grund der genannten Mosaikinschrift (Abb. 8) des Don Casulo Ghezzi von 1939 aus der Nekropole im Bereich der neuangelegten Via Imperiale. Aber weder der Generalplan der Nekropole im Archivio della X Ripartizione del Comune, noch die 'Registri' 1938 oder 1939, noch die während der Ausgrabung gemachten und in der Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma aufbewahrten Fotos beziehen sich auf eines der Mosaiken in S. Balbina.

Im Archivio Storico Archeologico di Roma sind jedoch zwei Skizzen erhalten - eventuell von der Hand von Guglielmo Gatti, Assistent des Ausgräbers Arias, der für die graphische Dokumentation zuständig war. Das eine Blatt ist eine grobe Lageskizze der Columbarien Nr. 24-31 (C. 24-31) am Largo delle Terme di Caracalla (Taf. 2). Eine Detailskizze (Abb. 6) weist das Mosaik mit den



Salomons-knoten und Kreuzen dem Columbarium Nr. 30 (C. 30) und das Schachbrett-Mosaik mit seitlichen Friesen von Amazonenschilden Columbarium Nr. 31 (C. 31) zu.<sup>51</sup>

Das Mosaiken-Ensemble in S. Balbina ist ein markantes Beispiel für eine heute längst überwundene Form musealer Präsentation der 40er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts.

Die Publikation bietet darüber hinaus zahlreiche Inedita und ausserhalb des *CIL* veröffentlichte Inschriften (auch ausserhalb der Personennamen in Solin<sup>54</sup>). Dankenswerterweise beschäftigten sich die Autoren der Inschriften auch mit dem sozialen Stand der Bestatteten und dem weiteren Umfeld, so unter anderem: Vigna Casale (z.B. einer Gemeinschaftsbestattung kaiserlicher Diener, 1. Jh. n.Chr.); Bestattungen bei S. Sisto Vecchio (ausgegraben 1724, Bestattungs-Collegium 28-29 n.Chr.); Vigna Moroni auf der rechten Seite der Via Appia nach den Informationen von F. De Ficoroni (1664-1747). Doch gerade die breite Anlage der Studie verhindert wiederum die punktuelle Vertiefung bezüglich der Nekropole 'Via Imperiale' und ihrer Grabmonumente selbst, die Avetta im Text nur kurz streift und auf 27 Tafeln das Fotomaterial des Archivio Statale unkommentiert ausbreitet.<sup>55</sup> Die Autorin beklagt 'mancanza di descrizione dei singoli monumenti (almeno in parte) ma anche a localizzarli'.<sup>56</sup>

Erste Begehungen erfolgten am 17. September 1938 im Gelände der Proprietà Giusti und der Proprietà Federici.

Das Grabungsgelände nahe der Aurelianischen Mauer (vgl. *Abb. 4*) zwischen Viale Guido Baccelli und Via Antoniana wurde ehemals durch ein Bauernhaus charakterisiert (in den Akten als *Casa*

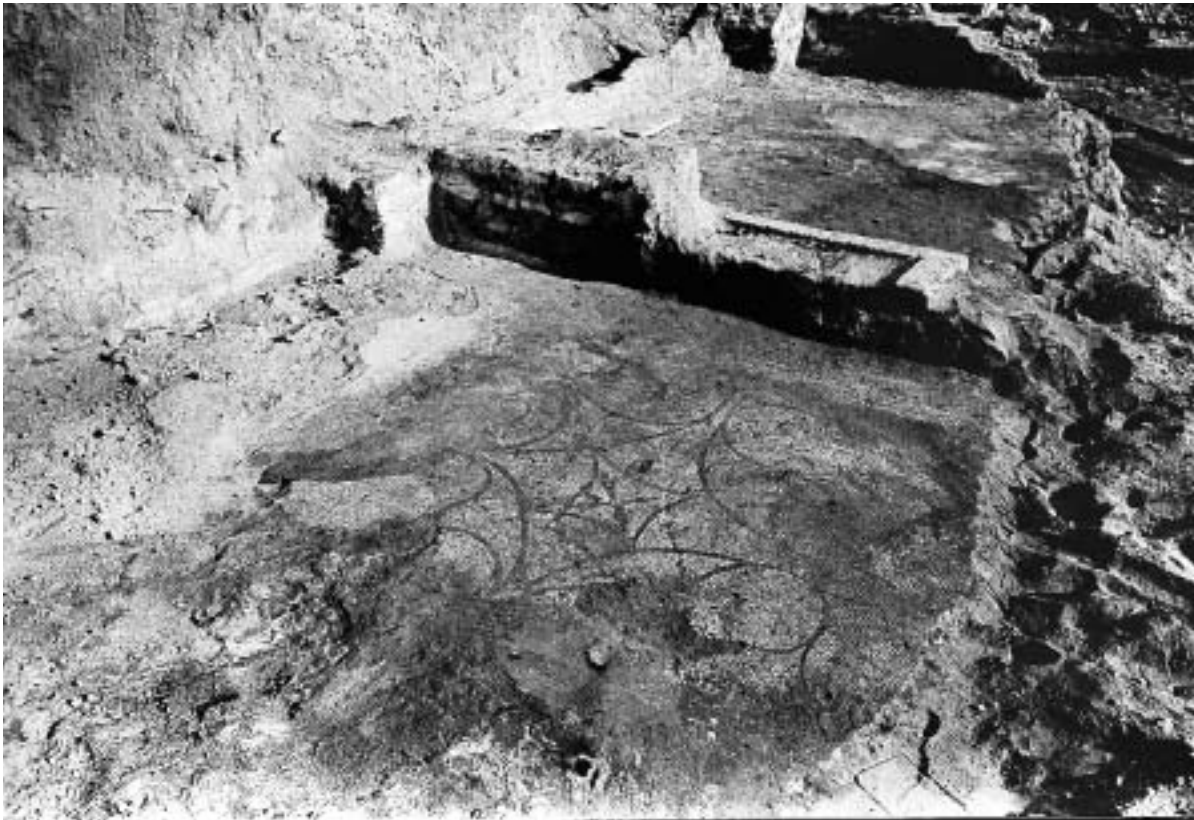


Abb. 10. Columbarium 1, Mosaik und Türangelstein, Foto: Archivio Storico, 26.10. 1938.

*colonica* bezeichnet), dessen Ecken zunächst als Messpunkte dienten (Taf. 3). Das Gebäude existiert wahrscheinlich heute noch als historischer Kern der Baumschule EUROGarden (7.24 x 21.40 m), Via Guido Baccelli 85. Im Gelände dieser Baumschule lagen links und rechts der Via Guido Baccelli die Columbarien der in Rede stehenden Nekropole. In Richtung des Geländeabfalls nach der Viale delle Terme di Caracalla wurden mehrere Stränge einer Lorenbahn für die Erdarbeiten installiert. Die Columbarien werden im folgenden mit C. angegeben; die Bezifferung wurde der rückwärtigen Beschriftung der Originalfotos entnommen.

#### C. 1

Die Grabungsskizze vom 26. Oktober 1938 (Taf. 3) verzeichnet im Grundriss den Grabbau C. 1. Auf dem dazugehörigen Grabungsfoto ist der Türangelstein sichtbar und das quadratische Mosaik (2.70 x 2.70 m) mit feinen Ranken, mittelständiger Blüte und Lattenzaunrahmung, das zwischen Schola cantorum und Hochaltar in S. Balbina verlegt ist (Abb. 3, 10). Damit ist der Zu-

sammenhang zwischen der Gräberstrasse und dem Mosaikenbestand der Basilika gesichert.

#### C. 2

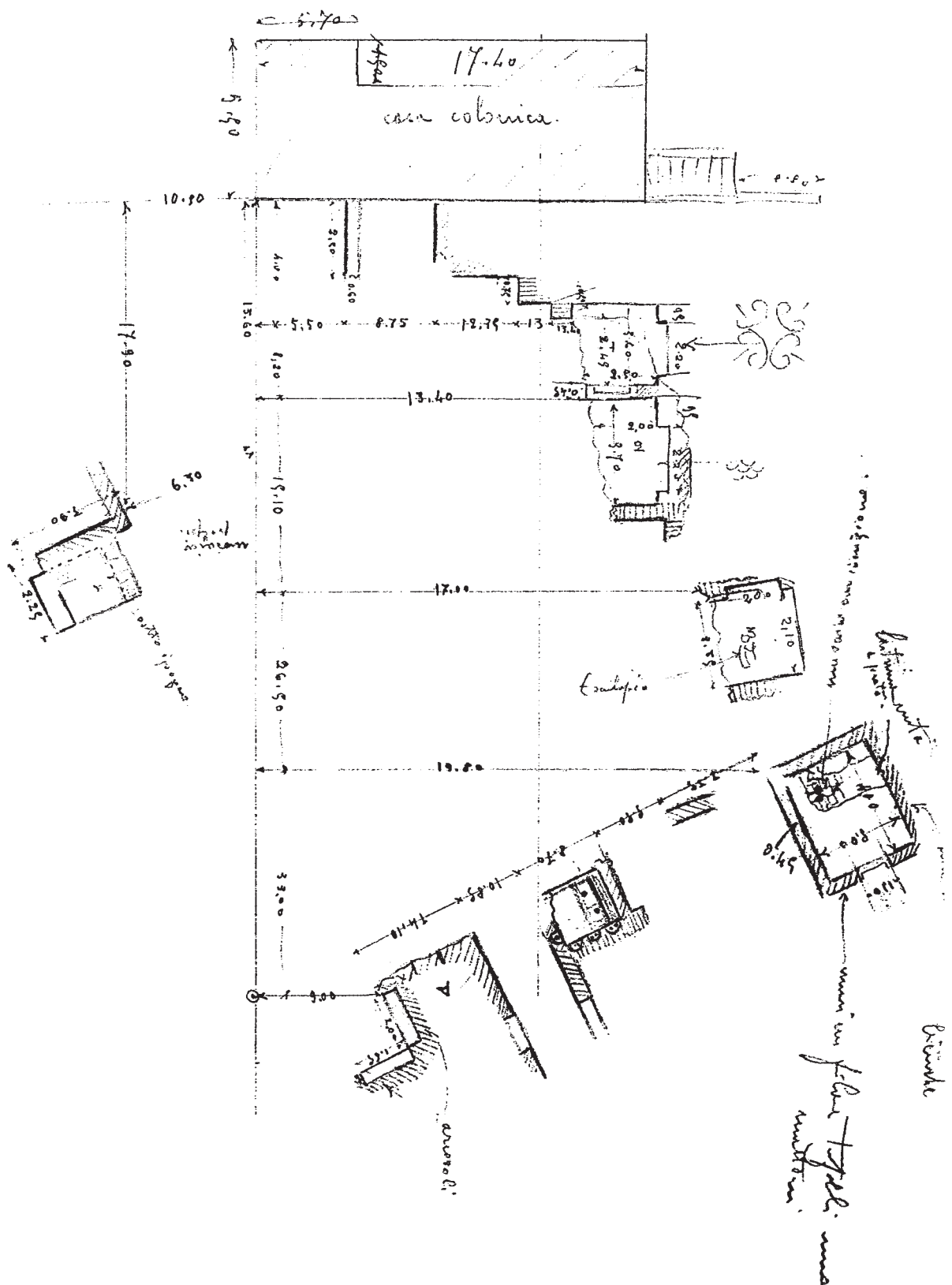
Das angrenzende etwas grössere C. 2 enthielt laut Grabungsskizze ein Mosaik mit Schuppenmuster, eventuell das Mosaik vor der ersten Seitenkapelle links in S. Balbina (0.97 x 2.52 m).

#### C. 3

Diesen Bau ist nach der Grabungsskizze lediglich 2.59 m breit (Beischrift unleserlich). Hier bricht jedoch die vorläufige Numerierung auf den Grabungsskizzen ab, die dann nur noch aus der Beschriftung der Fotos und Pläne zu rekonstruieren ist.

#### C. A

Auf der Skizze vom 26. Oktober 1938 (Taf. 3) wird ein Columbarium A zitiert, das lediglich auf einem Blatt vom 31. Oktober wiederkehrt und näher beschrieben wird. Es handelt sich um ein verhältnismässig kleines rechteckiges Columbarium mit klassischer Nischengliederung und



Taf. 3. Grabungsskizze vom 26. Oktober 1938 mit Casa Colonica.





Abb. 11. Mosaik aus Columbarium 4, Museo Nazionale Romano, Foto: AFS 2639 E.

einem Mosaik, in dem zwei Dreiecke aus dunklen tessellae im Sanduhrmotiv ein rechteckiges Feld ergeben. Die zipfelartig einander zugeneigten Spitzen ergeben ein bewegtes, ungeometrisches Mosaikbild. Die Form des Grabbaus lässt nach Analogien auf ein ehemals vorhandenes Kreuzgratgewölbe schliessen. Die Schnitt-Skizze deutet auf Zweigeschossigkeit und den Wechsel von tuffelli und Ziegelsteinen in der Bogenkonstruktion des Untergeschosses ('Cella a terra'). Durch Beischrift wird in Höhe des Bogenansatzes ein umlaufender Fries mit grünen Blüten dokumentiert, darüber eine grüne Ringeltaube mit rotem Halsband.

#### C. 4

Das Grabungsfoto (Abb. 11) zeigt die Ecke von einem weissgrundigen Mosaik mit der in weisser Binnenzeichnung gegebenen dunklen Figur eines alten Mannes charakterisiert durch Pilos, eventuell ist Odysseus gemeint, und Knotenstock (im Fund-Verzeichnis von Arias als Schlange bezeichnet) gerahmt von zwei Reihen von Blattfächern aus dunklen tessellae. Das Mosaik gelangte ins Museo Nazionale Romano.<sup>59</sup> Die Grösse wird mit 177 x 192 cm ohne Rahmung angegeben (mit Rahmen 193 x 208 cm); die tessere

messen ca. 8 x 10 mm und auf 100 cm<sup>2</sup> kommen ca. 65 tessellae. Das Mosaik ist also viel gröber strukturiert als das ältere Medusenmosaik des frühen 2. Jahrhunderts aus C. 25 (Abb. 5).

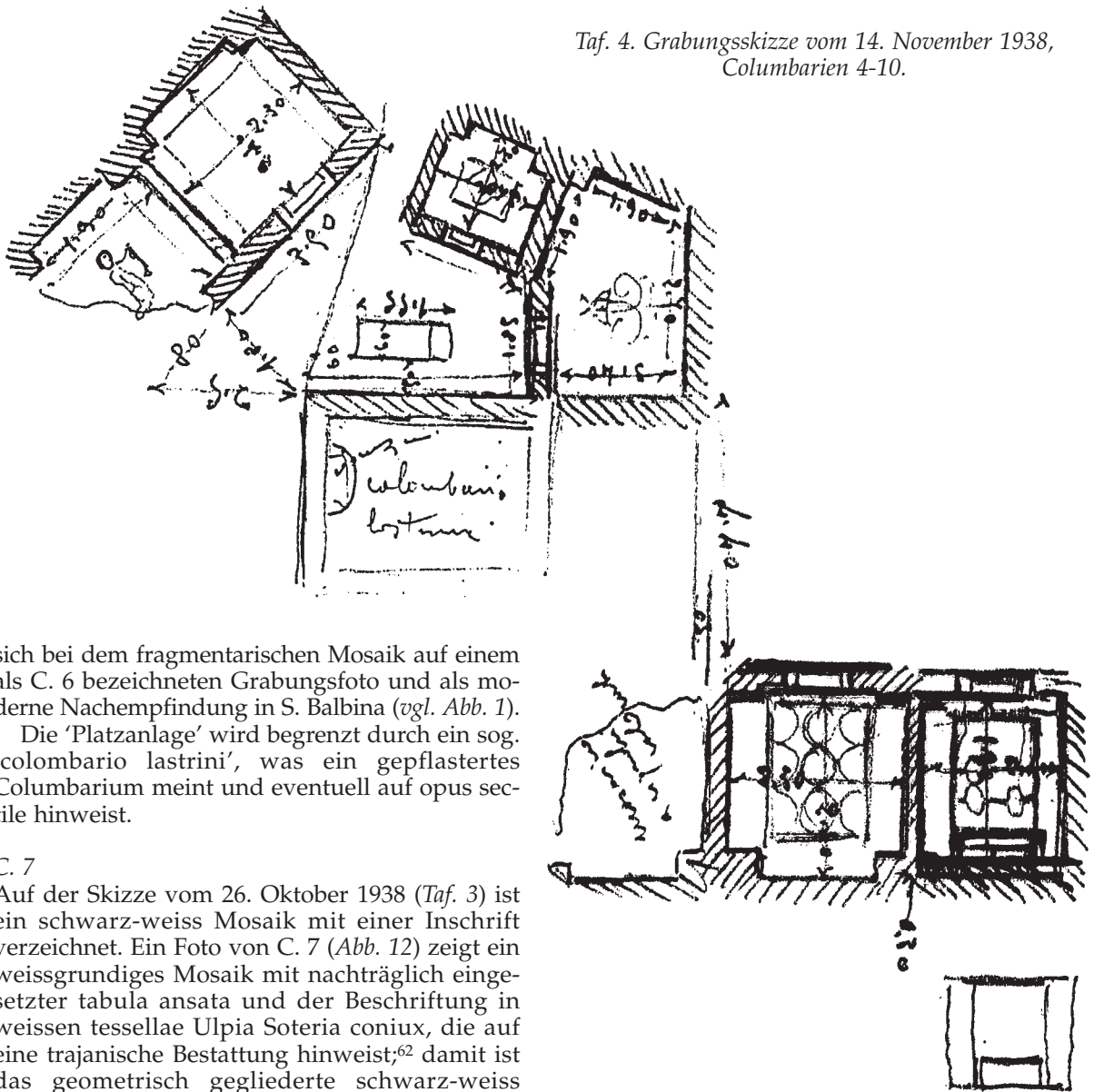
#### C. 5

Die Ausgrabungsskizze vom 14.11.1938 zeigt ein rechteckiges Mosaik mit quadratisch-verkantetem Innenfeld. Es entspricht dem 'Vogelmosaik' (H 1.75 m) vor der Marmorschränke im Mittelschiff von S. Balbina (Abb. 7).<sup>60</sup> Weil es auf der Skizze querverlegt ist, wäre der Vogel zwischen zwei Blütenzweigen vom Eingang aus nur von der Seite sichtbar gewesen. Die seitliche Rahmung in S. Balbina bzw. der Mäander-Fries ist modern. Das Zinnenmuster meint allgemein die eingeschnittene Mauerkrone und wurde in der Mosaikkunst aus dem hellenistischen Orient übernommen.<sup>61</sup>

#### C. 6

Der angrenzende rektanguläre Grabbau (Taf. 4) berücksichtigt mit zwei verkanteten Seiten die kleine davorliegende Platzanlage. Die Binnenzeichnung lässt auf die Verlegung eines Mosaiks schliessen, in dem Ranken aus einem geriefelten Kantharos aufwachsen. Ein derartiges Motiv findet

Taf. 4. Grabungsskizze vom 14. November 1938,  
Columbarien 4-10.



sich bei dem fragmentarischen Mosaik auf einem als C. 6 bezeichneten Grabungsfoto und als moderne Nachempfindung in S. Balbina (vgl. Abb. 1).

Die 'Platzanlage' wird begrenzt durch ein sog. 'colombario lastrini', was ein gepflastertes Columbarium meint und eventuell auf opus sectile hinweist.

#### C. 7

Auf der Skizze vom 26. Oktober 1938 (Taf. 3) ist ein schwarz-weiß Mosaik mit einer Inschrift verzeichnet. Ein Foto von C. 7 (Abb. 12) zeigt ein weissgrundiges Mosaik mit nachträglich eingesetzter tabula ansata und der Beschriftung in weissen tessellae Ulpia Soteria coniux, die auf eine trajanische Bestattung hinweist;<sup>62</sup> damit ist das geometrisch gegliederte schwarz-weiß Mosaik mit vierblättrigen Blütensternen in das Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts zu datieren. Eventuell gab es auch in anderen Grabmonumenten Mosaikinschriften.

In einer Entfernung von ca. 4.40 folgen die Gräber C. 8-C. 10, wobei C. 9 und C.10 lediglich durch die in der Grabungsskizze vermerkten Mosaikstrukturen und die Fotobeschriftung identifiziert werden können.<sup>63</sup>

#### C. 9

Kurz vor dem heutigen Largo delle Terme di Caracalla befanden sich zwei Gräber mit gemeinsamer Wand, aber separaten Eingängen. C. 9

enthielt ein Schwarz-Weiss-Mosaik mit konzentrischen Kreisen; die Halbkreise bestanden alternierend aus weissen oder schwarzen tessellae (Abb. 13a und Taf. 4).

#### C. 10

In dem danebenliegende C. 10 wurde am 14.7. 1939 ein Mosaik mit weissen Ellipsen auf dunklem Grund gefunden (Abb. 13b), wobei die spitz zulaufenden Ellipsen mit den Spitzen auf die Breitseite der folgenden stossen; weisse quadratische Mosaikfelder mit ausgezogenen Zipfeln verbinden die Ellipsen untereinander, ein Mosaik-System, das auch 'dente di cavallo' bezeichnet wird.



Abb. 12. Columbarium 7, weissgrundiges Mosaik mit nachträglicher tabula ansata für ULPIA SOTERIA, Foto: Archivio Storico.

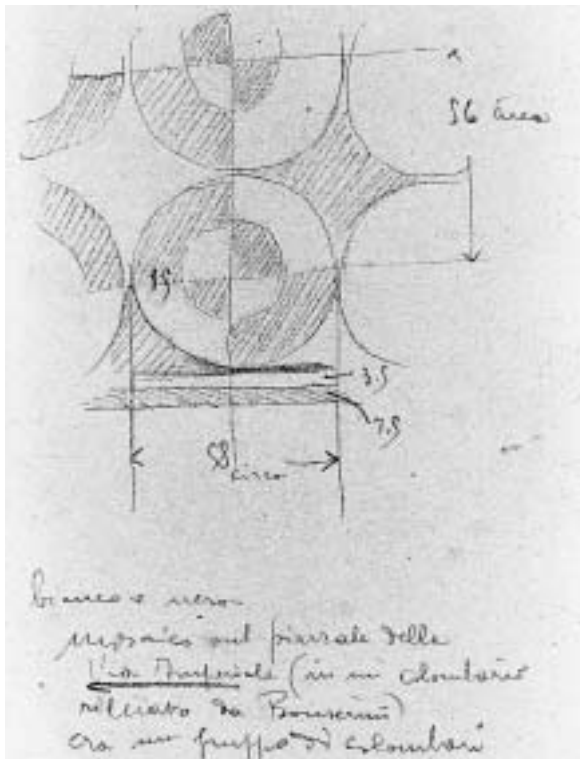


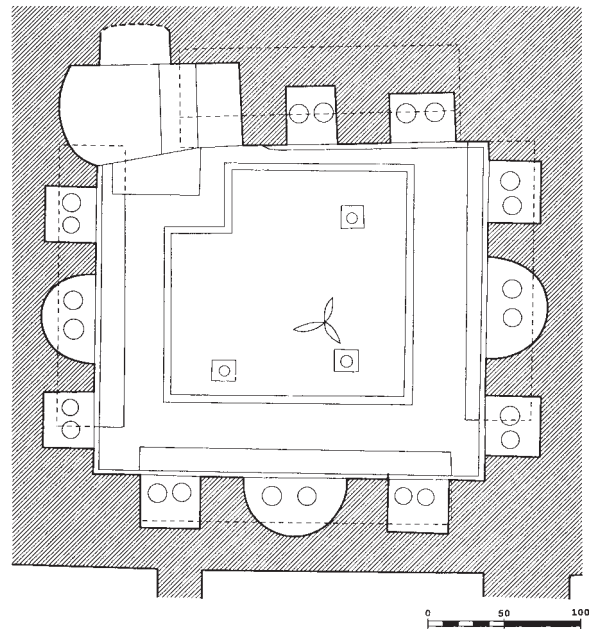
Abb. 13 a, b. Mosaikschemata aus Columbarium 9 und 'dente di cavallo' aus Columbarium 10.



*C. 10<sup>bis</sup> (Taf. 5, Abb. 14)*

Von diesem Grabmonument sind der Grundriss des Untergeschosses und eine summarische Beschreibung erhalten; der Bau selbst ist jedoch in keinem Übersichtsplan zu lokalisieren. C. 10<sup>bis</sup> ist charakterisiert durch die klassische Loculi-Gliederung im kreuzgratgewölbten Untergeschoss und einem dort verlegten hakenförmigen, weissgrundigen Mosaik mit einer dreiblättrigen Blüte aus dunklen tessellae (laut Grabungsskizze 'Mosaico stelle a 3 piume'). Das Mosaik ist von einem dunklen 5 cm breiten Streifen gerahmt. An den nischengegliederten Wandteilen fanden sich Reste von Malerei mit vegetabilem Dekor. In der grossen sogenannten Nische wurden zwei Figuren beobachtet. An allen vier Seiten fanden sich unter den Urnennischen Arkosolien mit fossa-Gräbern und intakten Skeletten in einer Tiefe von 1.03 m. Diese Gräber waren durch Marmorplatten verschlossen.

Die eigenartige Bezeichnung C. 10<sup>bis</sup> lässt darauf schliessen, dass es zumindest zwei Columbarien 10 gab bzw. dass dieser Grabbau in einer Reihe



*Taf. 5. Columbarium 10<sup>bis</sup>.*



*Abb. 14. Zweigeschossiges Columbarium 10<sup>bis</sup>, Mosaik und Arkosolien.*



Abb. 15. S. Balbina, polychromes Mosaikfragment  
wahrscheinlich aus Columbarium 15, Inst. Neg.  
Rom 78.52.

ähnlicher Bauten lag, die nicht gesondert aufgeführt wurden. Diese Annahme ist durchaus nicht abwegig, weil aus der Fülle der Skizzen hervorgeht, dass die Nekropole mit ihren Strassen, Seitenwegen und kleinen Plätzen durchaus den Eindruck einer 'Totenstadt' machte; bereits Bartoli machte in *Gli antichi sepolcri* (1704) auf den dorfähnlichen Charakter solcher 'Totenstädte' aufmerksam, wie beispielsweise die bei den Fundamentarbeiten für die Villa Doria Pamphili ausgegrabene Nekropole<sup>64</sup> oder die Isola Sacra in Ostia<sup>65</sup> beweisen.

Durch die Entdeckung immer neuer Grabbauten kamen die Ausgräber in der Nekropole 'Via Imperiale' mit der Zählung in Konflikt und fügten u.a. C. 10<sup>bis</sup> und C. A ein. Doch alle diese Bezeichnungen bleiben Hilfskonstruktionen nach den Angaben auf den Fotos des Gabinetto Fotografico der Soprintendenza di Roma und den zugehörigen Planunterlagen.

C. 12, 13, 14 [?]

Hier sind nur allgemeine Strukturen auf den Fotos sichtbar.

C. 15

Die Skizze vom 3.11.1938 zeigt einen Grabbau mit fossa-Gräbern und 'mosaico colorato a cassettone

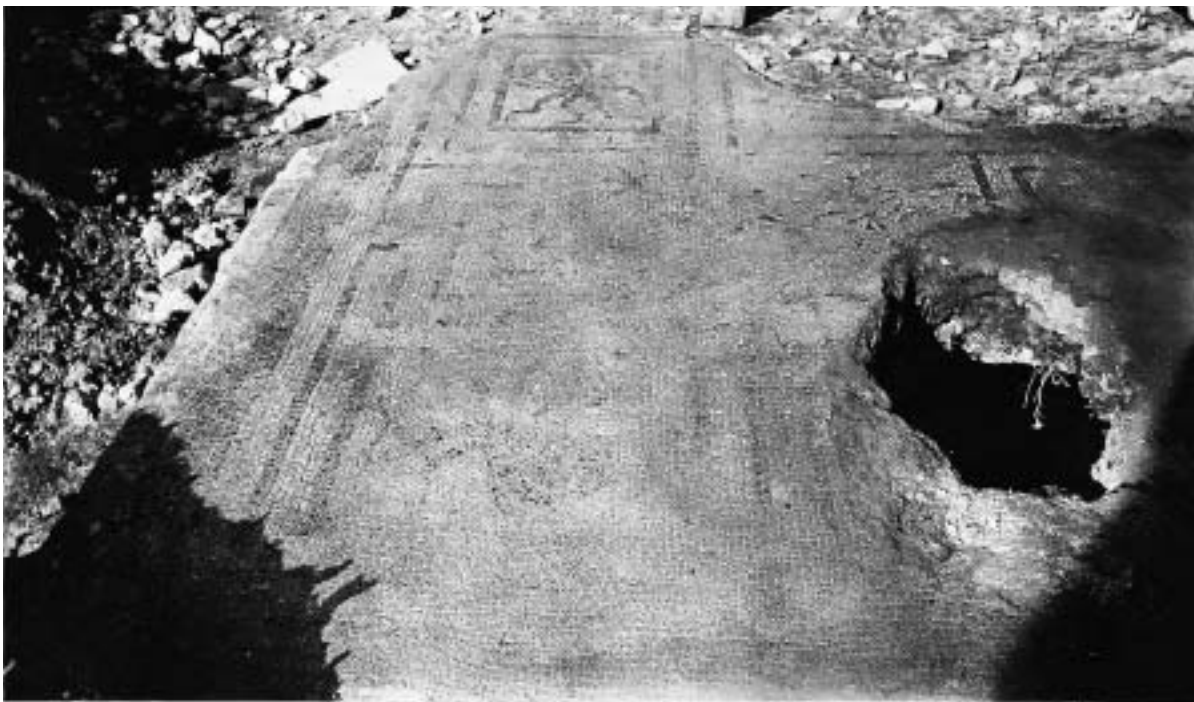


Abb. 16. 'Mosaico polipi' aus Columbarium 16, Foto: Archivio Storico.



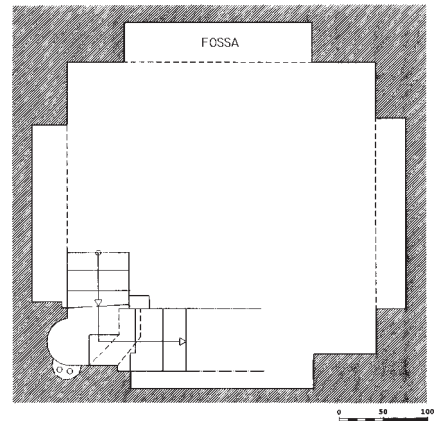
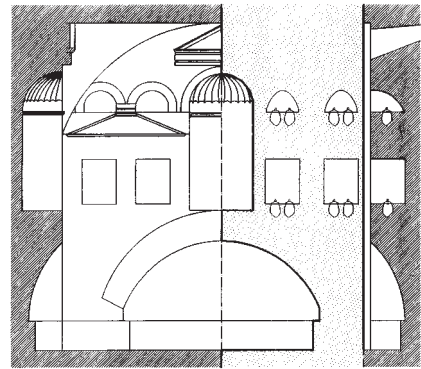


Abb. 17. Columbarium 25, Stuckgliederung und Arkosolien, Foto: Archivio Storico.

con palombe'. Es handelt sich um ein polychromes Mosaik mit quadratischen von Flechtband gerahmten Feldern (Wechsel von Vogelstilleben und Blütenrosetten).<sup>66</sup> Eventuell gehört das polychrome von einem Flechtband gerahmte Mosaikfragment mit Weinblatt und filigranen Gräsern, das heute im Inneren von S. Balbina aufbewahrt wird (Abb. 15), zu diesem Columbarium.

Ein parallel dazu versetzter Grabbau auf der gleichen Skizze enthält die Angabe eines Schachbrettmosaiks vergleichbar C. 31. Solche hypothetischen Verweise sind vorläufig nicht zu untermauern, weil die Feldskizzen lediglich ungefähre Massangaben enthalten bzw. Arbeitsabschnitte des jeweiligen Tages darstellen, an denen vermutlich verschiedene Gebäude angeschnitten wurden und später nicht mehr systematisch ausgegraben werden konnten.

In der Skizze vom 3.11.1938 ist eine Mauerecke mit Vorsprüngen auf der rechten Seite sichtbar, die bereits am 31. Oktober als 'angolo con gradini di fronte al pozzo' vermerkt wurde.



Taf. 6. Columbarium 25.

#### C. 16

Ehemals zweigeschossiger Grabbau mit geometrisch gegliedertem weissgrundigen Mosaik. Nach Ausweis des Fotos wechseln florale Motive mit figürlichen, zumindest ist an einer Ecke eine Krake zu erkennen (Abb. 16); es ist sicher identisch mit der Angabe 'Mosaico polipi' der Grabungsskizze vom 26.10.1938. Auf dem Foto wurde notiert, dass das Mosaik restauriert wurde, demnach also in das Museo Nazionale Romano gelangte.<sup>67</sup>

Eine schmerzliche Lücke besteht zwischen C. 17 und C. 23.

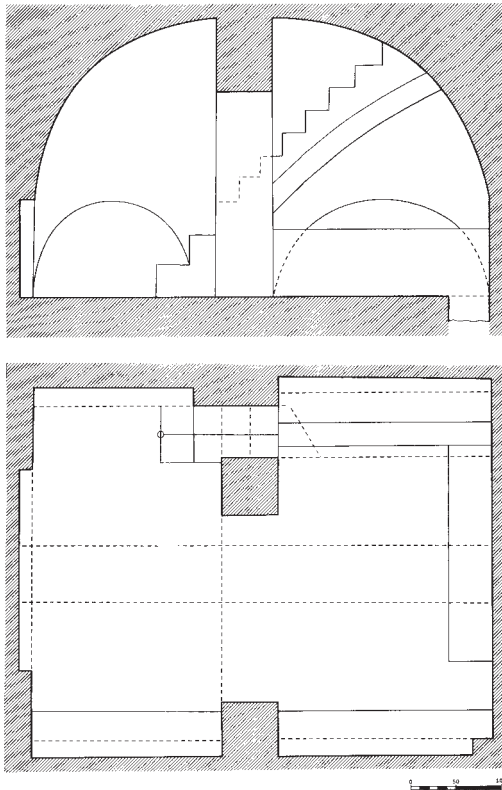
#### C. 24 (vgl. Taf. 2)

ist lediglich auf dem undatierten Übersichtsplan von C. 24-32 zu fassen, dessen Zählung nicht sehr vertrauenswürdig ist. Demnach lag C. 24 neben dem schmaleren dafür um so prächtigeren C. 25.

#### C. 25 (Taf. 6, Abb. 5, 17)

Von diesem ehemals zweigeschossigen Columbarium ist ein Grundriss der Cella inferiore erhalten, ein Längsschnitt in zwei Ebenen und Fotos des





Taf. 7. Columbarium 26.

polychromen Medusenmosaiks im Museo Nazionale Romano<sup>68</sup> das Arias in seinem Fundbericht (Abb. 5, vgl. Anlage 2) erwähnt.

Das Mosaik (265 x 265 cm, mit Rahmen 276.5 x 277 cm) wurde 1939 gefunden und von Marconi restauriert. Es ist von einem Hakenmäander umgeben; in den Zwickeln sind Vogelstilleben, stilisierte Ranken, Knospen und Kirschzweige zu sehen. Der in das Rechteck eingeschriebene Kreis besteht aus einem Ring schwarz-weissgefiederter Blattschuppen,<sup>69</sup> der im Zentrum das runde polychrome Medaillon mit dem Haupt der Medusa zeigt, ein geläufiges Sepulkralmotiv. Die Gorgo Medusa aus braunen, gelben, grünen, weissen und schwarzen Mosaiksteinchen (tessellae: 5-10 mm Seitenlänge; auf 100 cm<sup>2</sup> kommen ca. 206 tessellae) hat weisse Flecken auf Nase, Wangen und am Flügelpaar - eine Technik, die in der Malerei als aufgesetztes Weiss bezeichnet und hier Perspektivanwirkung erhält.

Das System der Gliederung einer Kreisfläche mit ausgespartem Zentralmedaillon, in der konzentrische Bänder kontinuierlich von innen nach aussen in einer Art Wirbel (girandola) vergrössert werden, ist in der Mosaikkunst zwischen dem 1.

und 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr. ein häufig wiederholtes Motiv und hat hellenistische Vorläufer wie in der Tholos von Epidauros (um 329 v.Chr.). Die alternierenden Farben Schwarz und Weiss lassen das Verhältnis von Figur und Grund ungeklärt. Mit der räumlichen Wirkung der Schuppen in der Diagonale und in zentralperspektivischer Verkürzung ist eine trichterförmige Tiefenausdehnung verbunden, den K. Tür als anonymes Formelement zur Sehrituation in der antiken wahrnehmungsorientierten Kunst erklärt.<sup>70</sup>

Erstaunlich ist die Verwendung dieses anspruchsvollen Dekors für ein relativ kleines Columbarium, das durch das Mosaik zusammen mit der reichen Stuckdekoration in die 1. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts zu datieren ist.

Das rechteckige Mosaik befand sich ehemals im Cella inferiore, denn der Schnitt zeigt kein aufgehendes Mauerwerk, lediglich ein *lucernario a bocca di lupo*, den Lichtschacht für das unterirdische Geschoss. Dort befanden sich auch vier Arkosolien mit fossa-Gräbern und im oberen Teil eine Nischengliederung mit stuckierten Muschelkalotten in der Wandmitte flankiert von zwei Loculi-Reihen, die untere mit rechteckigen Loculi, wie es dem hellenistischen Typ der Loculus-Anlagen im östlichen Mittelmeer entspricht,<sup>71</sup> die obere Reihe mit den in Rom üblichen halbkreisförmigen Loculi mit jeweils zwei Aschenbehältern. Loculi des gleichen Typs begleiten auch die gewendelte Treppe.

#### C. 26 (Taf. 7)

Hiervon liegen Grundriss und Schnitt des Cella inferiore vor, die den Treppenlauf und drei fossa-Gräber unter Arcosolien belegen. Durch eine schmale Gräberstrasse getrennt folgten auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite von C. 24-26 die Bauten C. 27 und C. 28.

#### C. 27

wurde lediglich im Grundriss angeschnitten.

#### C. 28

Im Rücken von C. 9 und C. 10 (vgl. Abb. 13a, b.)<sup>72</sup> lag ein relativ gut erhaltenes rechteckiges Columbarium (2.38 x 2.28 m) mit rezenter capucini-Belegung (4 Gräber), von dem der Lageplan (Taf. 2) und zwei mit C. 28 beschriftete Fotos erhalten sind. Erkennbar sind ein rechteckiger Loculus und schmale halbkreisförmige für lediglich eine Urne und breitere für zwei oder mehrere Aschenbehälter. Die ehemals verputzte Wand war aus Retikulat-Mauerwerk, vorkragende Wandteile hingegen in Ziegeltechnik ausgeführt.



Abb. 18. Wandmalerei der Cella inferiore von Columbarium 30, Foto: Archivio Storico.

#### C. 29

Dieses Grab ist nur noch im Lageplan (Taf. 2) zu fassen und war ein zweigeschossiges Grab mit Arkosolien und Nischengliederung.

#### C. 30

Von dem an C. 29 rückwärtig angrenzenden C. 30 ist ein Foto (Abb. 18) erhalten, das eine fragmentarische Wandmalerei im Laubenstil zeigt, gegliedert durch rote und grüne Streifen mit kleinen Figuren (Abb. 17). Aus C. 30 stammt nach Ausweis der Detailskizze (Abb. 6) das Mosaik mit den Salomonsknoten und gleichlangen Kreuzarmen in S. Balbina (Abb. 1).

#### C. 31 (Taf. 8, Abb. 4)

Zweigeschossiger Grabbau mit Tonnengewölbe, Retikulatmauerwerk, Ziegeldurchschuss und Ziegelverstärkung an den Ecken. Ein Foto zeigt dieses Columbarium mit der Lorenbahn sehr dicht bei der Aurelianischen Mauer.<sup>73</sup> Grundriss und Schnitt der Cella inferiore sind erhalten und auf der Detailskizze (Abb. 6) die Angabe, dass sich hier das Schuppenmosaik mit seitlichen Amazonenschild-Friesen befunden hat, das in S.

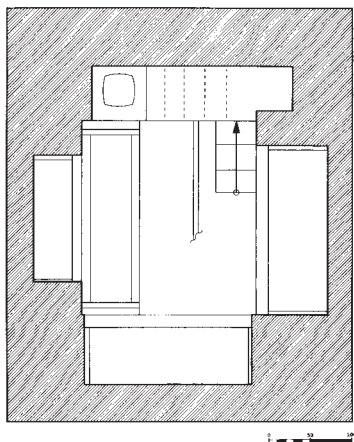
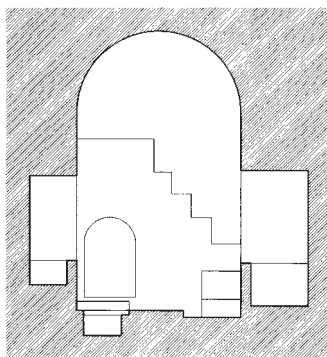
Balbina vor der ersten Seitenkapelle links verlegt ist. Der Lageplan (Taf. 2) zeigt hier eine Loculusgliederung.

#### C. 32

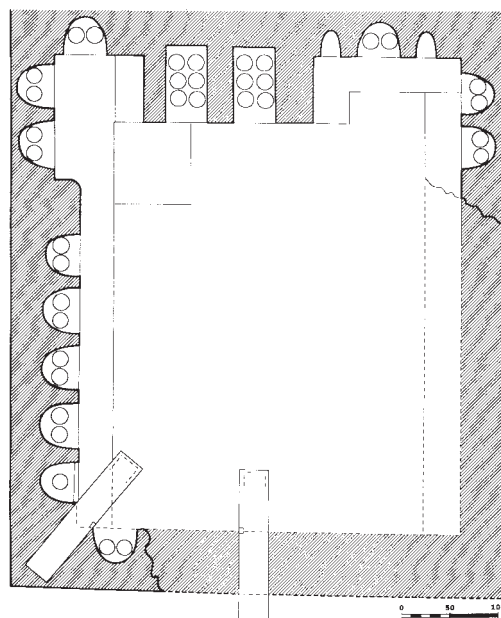
Eine undatierte Lageskizze zeigt das relativ grosse C. 32, das über eine Treppe zugänglich war.

#### C. 33 (Taf. 9)

ist aus einem Foto bekannt (Abb. 19) - immer vorausgesetzt, dass die C.-Nummerierung auf den Fotos einheitlich durchgehalten wurde, - und wird 'Colombario dei kantharo[i] dipinti' bezeichnet. Angeschnitten ist eine weiss-stuckierte Wand mit zwei Loculi-Reihen übereinander. Sie sind durch einen Fries mit eigenartig rechteckig 'ausgeschnittenen' Wandfeldern getrennt. Von der vertikalen Gliederung sind zwei zierlich gemalte Aufsatzgefässe zu erkennen. Die im 1. und 2. Jh. n.Chr. in der Grabmalerei auftretenden Gefässe aus unterschiedlichen Materialien - Metall ist im Fall der Verwendung von goldgelber Farbe anzunehmen - können Abbilder von Urnen sein bzw. im Zusammenhang mit einer prunkvollen



Taf. 8. Columbarium 31.



Taf. 9. Columbarium 33.



Abb. 19. Columbarium 33, 'Colombario dei kantharo(i) dipinti', Foto: Archivio Storico.

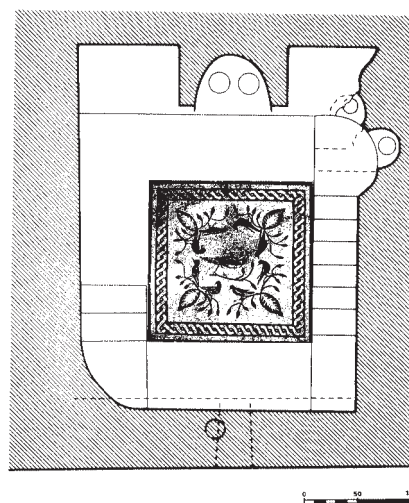
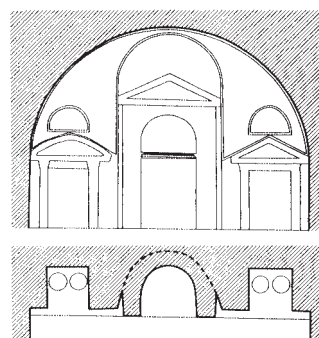




Abb. 20. Columbarium 34, 'Colombario del Pavone'. Foto: Archivio Storico.



Abb. 21. Pfaunenmosaik aus Columbarium 34, MNR 314771 L.



Taf. 10. Columbarium 34.

Grabausstattung stellvertretend für wirkliche Gefässe stehen. Gemalten Gefässe und Materialimitationen sind als konkreter Hinweis auf den Wunsch nach Kostbarkeit der Bestattung zu beurteilen.<sup>74</sup>

#### C. 34

Eines der interessantesten zweigeschossigen Columbarien der Nekropole ist das 'Colombario del Pavone'. Vorhanden sind Grundriss und Schnitt der Cella inferiore (Taf. 10) und drei Grabungsfotos (u. a. Abb. 20). Hier war das quadratische Mosaik (153 x 153 cm, mit Rahmen 165 x 165 cm) verlegt, das im Zentrum einen Pfau auf einem Zweig darstellt und sich im Museo Nazionale Romano befindet (Abb. 21).<sup>75</sup> Das Mosaik zeigt schwarze, weisse und farbige tessellae mit orangefarbenen, blauen, grünen und gelben Glassteinen; bei 8-10 mm Seitenlänge kommen auf 100 cm<sup>2</sup> 153 tessellae.

Der Pfau symbolisiert hier die Apotheose, wird jedoch erst seit dem 2. Jh. n.Chr. in diesem Sinne verwendet.<sup>76</sup> Er ist umgeben von acht weiteren Vögeln in den Zwickeln; ein grosses Fiederblatt weist jeweils in eine Ecke des Mosaiks. Das Pfauenmosaik ist umgeben von einem Flechtband, an zwei Seiten befindet sich ein erweiterter Friesabschnitt mit verkanteten Rechtecken aus dunklen tessellae und an einer Seite eine hakenförmige Erweiterung mit unzusammenhängenden Motiven wie einem Salomonknoten und weiteren geometrischen Elementen.

Charakteristisch ist die - wohl nur an einer Seite ausgeführte - Nischenarchitektur. Sie ist ähnlich reich gegliedert wie in C. 25 (vgl. Abb. 17) mit mittlerer Stuckkalotte in Muschelform und einem bekrönenden Giebel. Flankiert wird diese halbrunde Nische von zwei kleineren Rechtecknischen mit Giebel und malerisch gedrehten Säulchen. In die gewendelte Treppe sind Aschengefässe eingelassen. Über diesen Rechtecknischen befindet sich jeweils ein halbkreisförmiger Loculus. In den Fotos<sup>77</sup> ist erkennbar, dass die Nischen feingliedrig mit Vögeln und Zweigen aufweissem Grund bemalt waren. Dahinter erscheint versetzt angrenzend in einem Grabungsfoto die Längsseite von C. 33.<sup>78</sup>

#### C. 38

Völlig vereinzelt finden sich unter den Grabungsfotos<sup>79</sup> zwei Aschenbehälter in Form einer Bank aus Travertin mit Lisenengliederung und Inschriften (Abb. 22). Diese Travertinbänke standen ursprünglich original rechtwinklig zueinander. Eins der Fotos zeigt rechts vor dem modernen

Mauerdurchbruch ein Stück antikes Kopfsteinpflaster (Abb. 23). Dahinter steigen Schutthalde durchgezogen mit Ziegelmauerwerk auf. Es ist anzunehmen, dass C. 38 in ungefähr gleichem Abstand von der inneren Mauer in Höhe von C. 31 lag.



Abb. 22. Ossuarien aus Columbarium 38.



Abb. 23. Antike Pflasterung am Largo delle Terme di Caracalla, links Grabbau 38, rechts die Columbarien 28-30, Foto: Archivio Storico.



Die in ihrer Grösse differierenden 'Bänke' haben an der Oberseite konische Vertiefungen, in die tönernen Urnen für den Leichenbrand eingelassen wurden (Dm. 22,5 - 25 cm). Die Schauseite weist jeweils Lisenengliederung auf; das Ollarium mit fünf Urnen hat zwei und das mit acht Öffnungen drei Lisenen. In den Lisenenspiegeln nennen die gravierten Inschriften die Familien P. Decimi und Pinniae T. - A. Semproni.<sup>80</sup>

Die eigenartige Form zwischen Urne und Sarkophag wird nach einem prachtvollen Vergleichsbeispiel im Museo Chiaramonti des Vatikan, dem Grabmal des Müllers und Mehlhändlers P. Nonius Zethus, in das ausgehende 1. Jahrhundert datiert.<sup>81</sup> Aus dieser Form, den Ostothen des hellenistischen Kleasiens, entwickelten sich die Truhensarkophage.<sup>82</sup> Die beiden Ollentische kamen in das Museo Nazionale Romano,<sup>83</sup> wo sich ein weiteres Exemplar dieser Gattung befindet.<sup>84</sup>

#### C. 39

Nach Angabe eines mit C. 39 bezeichneten Fotos (Abb. 24) schmückte die Cella inferiore dieses Columbariums eine geometrische Streifengliederung auf weissem Malgrund. Im oberen Fries wechseln dunkle, original eventuell dunkelrote Quadrate mit schmalen vertikalen Rauten. Die



Abb. 24. Wandmalerei aus Columbarium 39, Foto: Archivio Storico.

Malerei der Sockelzone zeigt eine von Prismen gerahmte Rechteckfelder.<sup>85</sup>

Im Hintergrund ist die Aurelianische Mauer sichtbar mit den weissen Markierungen für die zukünftig geplante vierspürige Strassenführung. Das beweist, dass dieses Columbarium nur wenige Meter von der Mauer entfernt auf der rechten Seite des heutigen Largo di Terme di Caracalla lag, wo heute noch in der modernen Asphaltdecke ein schmales Stück der originalen Pflasterung der Gräberstrasse sichtbar ist.

Eine nicht näher bezeichnete Wandgliederung stellt die Dekoration einer Cella superiore dar. In einem hohen Wandfeld ist eine weibliche Figur mit dem hohem Haardiadem trajanischer bis frühhadrianischer erkennbar (Abb. 25).<sup>86</sup> Zur Vorstellung der Columbarien C. 1- 39 wurden die Unterlagen des Archivio Storico ausgewertet.

#### Rundgrab in der Vigna Pepoli

Nahe dem in Rede stehenden Gräberfeld der 'Via Imperiale' liegt intra muros zwischen Viale Guido Baccelli und Via Ardeatina jenseits des Largo Enzo Fioritto in der Vigna Pepoli, heute Via Lucio Fabio Cilone 19, das früh-mittelaugusteisch zu datierende Rundgrab einer Sammelgrabanlage.<sup>87</sup> Der Tumulus mit rechteckigem Eingangsbereich



Abb. 25. Gliederung einer Grabwand, Nekropole, Via Imperiale, Foto: Archivio Storico.



ehemals in der Vigna Cavalieri ist gut sichtbar auf dem Plan von Giovanni Battista Nolli (1748).<sup>88</sup> Ob und in welcher Beziehung dieses grosse Grabmonument mit den kleinformatigen Bauten der Nekropole 'Via Imperiale' stand, ist zum augenblicklichen Forschungsstand nicht zu sagen.

Hinter den Caracalla-Thermen im Valle Guido Baccelli fanden immer wieder erneut Ausgrabungen statt, zuletzt unter L. Sasso D'Elia, die jedoch keine neuen Gesichtspunkte für die Nekropole erbrachten.

#### FUNDE AUS DER NEKROPOLE

Zu den Funden aus der Nekropole in S. Balbina gehört eine ovale Riefel-Urne, die heute als Weihwasserbecken dient. Sie zeigt auf der einen Seite einen pausbäckigen Eros mit Mäntelchen im 'Blätterkelch'. Aus der Blattbasis ein wenig asymmetrisch herausgedreht, greift der kleine Eros mit der rechten Hand in seinen Köcher, aus dem zwei Pfeile herauschauen. Nach dieser Interpretation ist auch der Gegenstand, der die Büste nach unten abschliesst, als Bogen zu erkennen, der von der linken Hand gehalten wird. Unklar bleibt die Stelle zwischen Mantel und Bogen, für die eigentlich nur ein Vogel in Frage kommt (Abb. 26).<sup>89</sup>



Abb. 26. S. Balbina, Riefelurne.

Eine solche Darstellung der Waffen des Eros ist in der Sepulkralkunst ungewöhnlich; das statuarische Motiv wird hier zudem in den Blattkelch versetzt und wirkt eher als ungekannte, mythologische Anspielung des Auftraggebers. Auf der Urne ist der angreifende Aspekt des Erosknaben mit den der dionysischen Sphäre angehörenden vegetabilen Elementen der Blätter verbunden; ein Vogel - folgt man diesem Vorschlag - als Liebesgeschenk oder -spielzeug versichert die Bestimmung des Aschengefässes für einen Knaben. Ein vergleichbarer Kindersarkophag im Museo Nazionale Romano (ehem. Magazzino Oleareaia, Thermenmuseum) zeigt einen Jahreszeiten-Eros im Blattkelch, der mit der Linken einen Fruchtkorb umfasst und rechts auf seinen Kranz zeigt;<sup>90</sup> ein weiterer Sarkophag mit zwei Erosen an den Ecken, die mit dem halben Leib aus dem Akanthuskelch herausragen, ist im Palazzo Camuccini verzeichnet.<sup>91</sup> Aufgrund der tiefen Bohrlöcher ist eine Datierung in die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts vorzuschlagen, eine Zeit, in der das Blattkelchmotiv auch auf Sarkophagen eingeführt wird.<sup>92</sup>

Auffällig ist bei der deckellosen Erosen-Urne in S. Balbina, dass nur der obere Zylinderteil figural gestaltet ist. Das ist formal vergleichbar mit einem Fragment in Ostia.<sup>93</sup> Dargestellt ist dort der Oberkörper einer Psyche, die ihren linken Unterarm um einen Stamm mit Blättern schlingt.<sup>94</sup> F. Sinn weist nach, dass zylindrische Riefel-Urnen in hadrianisch-antoninischer Zeit (ca. 120-150 n.Chr.) nicht ungewöhnlich sind. Eines ihrer zahlreichen Beispiele, das sich im Museo Nuovo Capitolino befindet (Inv. 2103), ist die Urne des P. Aelius Aug. lib. Chrysanthius (CIL VI 8771), eines Freigelassenen des Hadrian; sie wurde 1864 bei den Caracalla-Thermen in der Vigna Volpi, also dem in Rede stehenden Nekropolenbereich, gefunden. Stil und Zeitstellung legen eine Fertigung in einer verwandten Grabbildhauer-Werkstatt wie die Zylinder-Urne in S. Balbina nahe,<sup>95</sup> der Fundort darüber hinaus die Herkunft aus der Nekropole 'Via Imperiale'.

Avetta führt zahlreiche Urnen und Urneninschriften ungesicherten Fundorts an.<sup>96</sup> Ausser der Erosen-Urne in S. Balbina und der des P. Aelius Chrysanthius aus der Vigna Volpi wird an dieser Stelle lediglich auf zwei bereits von Sinn publizierte Urnen im Museo Nazionale Romano, erworben 1939, mit der Fundortangabe 'Via Imperiale' verwiesen, denn das Museum plant eine grundsätzliche Veröffentlichung der Urnen in seinem Besitz: die frühtrajanische Kastenerne (Abb. 27).<sup>97</sup> Seitliche mit Efeu belegte Pilaster mit ionischen Kapitellen und Basen im Scherenkyma



Abb. 27. Frühtrajanische Urne mit Lectus-Szene, Museo Nazionale Romano.

rahmen die Lectus-Szene eines männlichen Verstorbenen; die Inschrift fehlt auf der tabula. Eine weitere um 160 n. Chr. datierte kastenförmige Urne zeigt seitlich Greifen als Wächterfiguren und in der Ansicht ausschreitende Eroten mit geschulterter Fruchtgirlande und ein Medusenhaupt in der Lünette (Abb. 28 a, b).<sup>98</sup>

Ausser den beiden erwähnten Grabaltären aus Marmor, den Urnen, dem Landleben-Sarkophag

und den beiden Ossuarien aus Travertin (Abb. 22, 23) befinden sich im Museo Nazionale Romano der fragmentarische Maskensarkophag mit Girlanden, Eroten und Jahreszeiten aus lunensischem Marmor, den Arias anführt (vgl. Anhang 2) und der antoninisch (150 -160 n.Chr.) datiert wird (Abb. 29).<sup>99</sup>

Zum Fundkomplex gehören ferner ein Sarkophagdeckel mit dionysischem Thiasos (um



Abb. 28 a, b. Kastenurne um 160 n.Chr., Museo Nazionale Romano.



Abb. 29. Fragmentarischer Maskensarkophag (150-160 n.Chr.), Museo Nazionale Romano, Inst. Neg. 63.847.



Abb. 30. Sarkophagdeckel mit dionysischem Thiasos (um 230 n.Chr.), Museo Nazionale Romano.



Abb. 31 a, b. Fragmente eines Pastoral-Sarkophags (spätes 3. Jht. n.Chr.), Museo Nazionale Romano.





230 n.Chr.) aus feinkörnigem Marmor (*Abb. 30*)<sup>100</sup> und zwei qualitätsvolle Fragmente eines Pastoral-Sarkophags aus prokonnesischem Marmor (*Abb. 31 a, b*),<sup>101</sup> der in das 3. Jahrhundert datiert wird. Der bukolische Charakter des Hirtenlebens klingt an auch in der Darstellung der neuerdings gestohlenen Sarkophagplatte im Portikus von S. Balbina (*Abb. 2, 15*) von einem Riefelsarkophag des späten 3. Jahrhunderts mit seitlichen, nicht anfügenden Hirten. Der clipeus zeigt den Grabherrn mit Schriftrolle, darunter Früchtekorb und Schaf.<sup>102</sup>

1941 wurden drei Telamon-Skulpturen gefunden, gebälktragende Silene, die an das Ende des 1. bzw. an den Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts datiert werden; ihre Provenienz wird mit Via Imperiale, dalle Terme di Caracalla angegeben; sie gelangten in das Museo Nazionale Romano.<sup>103</sup> Ihre Funktion ist unklar; in Verbindung mit den Thermen wären sie eventuell als Trägerfiguren für eine Schale denkbar. Ein Zusammenhang mit der angesprochenen Nekropole ist auszuschliessen, denn sie sind keinem der erwähnten Monumente zuzuordnen und waren eventuell Träger einer dekorativen Brunnenschale, wie die 1789 in der Villa dei Quintili gefundenen Silene/Telamone in der Galleria dei Candelabri des Vatikan, die der Bildhauer F. Lisandroni ergänzte.<sup>104</sup>

Weitere Funde aus dieser Region zitiert Avetta aus dem 'Repertorio Inventariale e Topografico' des Museo Nazionale Romano.<sup>105</sup> Diese Beobachtungen ergänzen teilweise die Fundbemerkungen von Arias (vgl. Anhang 2), decken sich aber nicht mit ihnen. Die Zusammenstellung der Fundnotizen zeigt jedoch den Reichtum und die Bedeutung der Nekropole an dieser auch in der Frühkaiserzeit exponierten Stelle.

#### AUSGRABUNGSTÄTIGKEIT IN DER UMGEBUNG

Zwischen Servianischer und Aurelianischer Mauer verlief ausserhalb der Porta Capena das erste Stück der Via Appia, das Septimius Severus durch die breite von Gräbern und kaiserzeitlichen Häusern gesäumte Via Nova<sup>106</sup> ersetzen liess. So wurde 1858 in der Vigna Guidi im Thermenbereich ein Haus ausgegraben, in dem Nachgrabungen im Jahre 1970 gut erhaltene Fragmente einer späthadrianischen Deckenmalerei (ca. 130-138 n.Chr.) zu Tage förderten.<sup>107</sup> Die dichte Aufeinanderfolge von Häusern, Villen und Gräbern ist nicht nur im Bereich der Via Latina und der Via Appia an verschiedenen Stellen, sondern auch in anderen suburbanen Zonen Roms bezeugt.<sup>108</sup>

Die erste Ausgrabungen in der Vigna Guidi unter den Caracalla-Thermen bei dem oben erwähn-

ten Haus hadrianischer Zeit sowie bei S. Balbina erfolgten 1858-1859 und wurden von C.L. Visconti dokumentiert.<sup>109</sup> Er diskutiert einen Ziegelstempel von einer oberirdischen christlichen Bestattung, den jedoch R. Fabretti Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. datierte, und einen von dem später heilig gesprochenen Papst Marcus im 4. Jahrhundert erbauten Turm, der als Residenz der Kardinäle im Priorat S. Balbina diente. Dieser Papst liess die Kirche erbauen, in der er auch begraben wurde.<sup>110</sup>

Visconti hebt auch die Verdienste des Cavaliere Giovanni Battista Guidi hervor, des Besitzers der Vigna Guidi im Bereich der Caracalla-Thermen, der als örtlicher Grabungsleiter fungierte. Bis 1864 arbeitete Guidi an der Domus. Weitere Teile des Hauses wurden von der British Archaeological Society of Rome im angrenzenden Weingarten des Pietro Brochard ausgegraben.<sup>111</sup>

Im Zusammenhang mit den Ausführungen von Visconti diskutiert Wilhelm Henzen ein Fragment des Marmorplanes mit der Beschriftung: *Horti Celoniae Fabiae* und fährt fort:<sup>112</sup> 'Ora adunque essendosi rinvenuto il posto della domus Cilonis sulla parte dell'Aventino che vien occupata dalla chiesa di S. Balbina...' Henzen bringt damit indirekt die Domus Lucii Cilonis in Zusammenhang mit dem Haus unter den Caracalla-Thermen, was natürlich sehr interessant ist bezüglich der Aventin-Bebauung.

Dieses prächtige Wohnhaus in der Vigna Guidi wird auf Grund seiner Deckenfresken in die hadrianische Zeit datiert.<sup>113</sup> Bei der Ausgrabung trat eine Raumflucht mit figürlichen Schwarz-Weiss-Mosaiken zu Tage, die - soweit das nach den Archivfotos zu beurteilen ist - stilistischen Parallelen in den etwas trockenen Schwarzweissstil-Mosaiken mit weisser Binnenzeichnung in Ostia haben.<sup>114</sup>

Zum Vergleich ist das grosse Schwarz-Weiss-Mosaik in Stanza E 9 im Bereich der Villa Negroni anzuführen, das R. Paris mit den musivischen Dekorationen in den Räumen der Hospitalia der Villa Adriana und dem Raum H in der Casa delle Muse in Ostia um 130 n.Chr. vergleicht.<sup>115</sup> Die stilistische Ähnlichkeit und die motivische Übereinstimmung mit einigen der in S. Balbina eingelassenen Mosaiken, besonders bei den florealen Motiven, ist evident.<sup>116</sup> Das ist insofern wichtig, als damit eine ungefähre Gleichzeitigkeit der Domus des L. Fabius Cilo mit der Columbarien-Strasse an der Viale Guido Baccelli hypothetisch gesichert werden kann, was in situ leider nicht mehr nachvollziehbar ist. Darüber hinaus ist anzumerken, dass dieser Stil über einige Jahrzehnte hinweg modern bleibt und nicht unbedingt datierend ist.<sup>117</sup>

Mit der Feststellung einer Gleichzeitigkeit zwischen der späthadrianischen Bebauung am Hang des Aventin und der Gräberfolge stellt sich natürlich die Frage nach der Verbindung zwischen Grabherrn und Villenbesitzern. Nach dem Stand der Forschung ist sie nicht zu beantworten und auch nicht zwingend.<sup>118</sup>

Der erste im November 1938 aus - bzw. wieder- ausgegrabene Bau war das bereits erwähnte Privathaus an der Via delle Terme di Caracalla nahe der Einmündung des Viale Guido Baccelli,<sup>119</sup> das wie man annimmt dem Asinius Pollio gehörte. Es war mit der reichen Deckenmalerei hadrianischer Zeit geschmückt, die I. Jacopi vorstellte.

Der neu vorgelegte Grundriss weicht aber stark ab von dem Plan Cicconetti und Cozzas, den Parker benutzte.<sup>120</sup> Insofern sind die Ausführungen von C. Moccheggiani Carpano zu diesem Plan von grossem Interesse.<sup>121</sup> Das im Atrium verlegte polychrome Zirkusmosaik - dargestellt sind vor allem Wagenrennen - wird in die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts datiert.<sup>122</sup> Wie sich zeigte, ist das Mosaik bedeutend grösser (5.20 m x 2.61 m), als das Atrium mit seinen Abmessungen 2.20 m x 3.40 m. Daher ist das Atrium-Haus später zu datieren als der Vorgängerbau mit dem Zirkusmosaik. Das Peristyl war mit einem farbigen opus sectile-Boden ausgestattet. Darunter fand sich eine ältere Grabkammer, in der der ehemals reich bemalte Julius-Achilleus-Sarkophag gefunden wurde. Jutta Stroszeck führt aus, dass die starke Betonung der Tierkampfthematik wahrscheinlich im Bezug zur Tätigkeit des Bestatteten als Tierkämpfer zu sehen ist<sup>123</sup> und datiert den Sarkophag überzeugend in die 80iger Jahre des 3. Jahrhunderts.<sup>124</sup> Weil hier also drei Bebauungsphasen aufeinanderfolgen und der Achilleus-Sarkophag ca. 150 Jahre später als die Mehrzahl der Bauten an der Columbarien-Strasse datiert wird, setzt sich Stroszeck intensiv mit der Frage nach der Pomerium-Grenze auseinander. Sie kommt zu dem Schluss, dass die Bestattungen des 3. Jahrhunderts immer noch das republikanische Pomerium<sup>125</sup> respektieren und nicht die erweiterte Stadtgrenze.

#### EXKURS: DAS POMERIUM

Bezüglich des Pomeriums und der Begrenzung der Nekropole 'Via Imperiale' (*Taf. 1*) wies auch Fuhrmann darauf hin, dass die ganze Zone ein altes Gräberfeld war. Sehr gut belegt das ein republikanischer Travertinbau, dessen Form bis heute im Mauerwerk der Aurelianischen Mauer sichtbar ist. Er liegt zur Linken der Viale delle

Terme di Caracalla in Richtung Porta Ardeatina, wo eine antike Strasse, die die Via Appia mit dem Aventin verband, durch die Posterula der Mauer nach SO hinausführte.<sup>126</sup> Der Quaderbau wurde durch den Mauerturm neben der Posterula [di Vigna Casali] überbaut und die aus der Mauerflucht hervortretenden Bauteile abgebrochen. Im Füllschutt des Turmes fand sich die fragmentarische Stirnrosette eines Altarpulvinums.<sup>127</sup> Die Behandlung des republikanischen Grabbaus bei der Errichtung der Mauer weist auf den Verlust an Traditionsbewusstsein am Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts hin, den F. Coarelli auch an der Überbauung des Scipionengrabes und des daneben liegenden Columbariums vermerkt.<sup>128</sup> Insofern ist die Frage nach der Respektierung der Pomeriumsgrenze und Gräberstrassen ein Desiderat der Forschung.

Die claudische Erweiterung ist literarisch und inschriftlich bezeugt; die cippi (Abstand ca. 71 cm) sind aber so selten erhalten, dass die sakrale Linie - wie in der Schemazeichnung von Platner und Ashby<sup>129</sup> - topographisch ebenso wenig zu fassen ist wie bei Labrousse. Letzterer versucht, durch die Lage der Nekropolen, die gesetzlich ausserpomerial liegen müssen, die Grenzen des Pomeriums zu bestimmen.<sup>130</sup> Der zunehmend symbolisch verstandene Charakter der ehemals sakralen Grenzlinie spricht für die These von Stroszeck und erklärt auch die Unbekümmertheit, mit der die Mauer alte Grabstrukturen überschneiden oder auch einbeziehen.

Seit claudischer Zeit wurde im Pomerium nicht nur die heilige Begrenzungslinie (*sacro dei valori*) der Stadt gesehen, sondern auch ein Symbol für die Grenzen in der Zeit der Ausweitung des Reiches. Belege für die Bestattung innerhalb des Pomeriums gibt es bereits in Pompeji; aber die *amplificatio* unter Aurelian ist mit dem Zitat der *Historia Augusta* nicht allein beweiskräftig.<sup>131</sup>

Folgt man der These der gleichzeitigen Ausdehnung des Pomerium mit der Fertigstellung des Mauerrings unter Probus (276-282 n.Chr.), so stellt dieses Datum einen *terminus ante quem* für alle Bestattungen in diesem Bereich dar. Nach römischem Gesetz<sup>132</sup> wäre dann die Bestattung an dieser Stelle unzulässig gewesen; nur derjenige durfte das Pomerium erweitern, der das römische Reich vergrössert und durch den Census des Kaisers hatte bestätigen lassen. Auf der sakralen Grenze standen die cippi deshalb mit Nennung des Kaisers als Zensor.

Auffällig ist beim Passieren der Posterula [di Vigna Casali], die aussen eine Ziegelfassade in der Technik der polychromen Ziegelarchitektur

des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. zeigt (erh. H 6.10 x Br. 5.42 m),<sup>133</sup> der Verlauf einer schräg zu den Fundamenten der Mauer verlaufenden Reticulaturmauer, die mit grosser Gewissheit zu dem Areal der Nekropole gehört. Sie wird auf der anderen Seite von der modernen Viale di Porta Ardeatina abgeschnitten; gegenüber liegt die Villa Almone, seit 1950 Residenz des deutschen Botschafters, Via Cristoforo Colombo 1, die kurz nach dem Mauerdurchbruch 1942 von dem Architekten Eugenio Gerardi erbaut wurde.<sup>134</sup>

Aus allen Details ergibt sich, dass das Pomerium von der Porta Naevia zur Porta Capena führte und die Stelle der späteren Kirche S. Balbina und die südlich folgende Nekropole ausserhalb lagen (vgl. Plan Lugli, *Fontes*).<sup>135</sup>

In seiner Nachricht über den Neufund einer grossen Zahl von Gräbern bemerkt Pallottino: 'che attestano la presenza di una vasta necropoli anteriore all'allargamento del pomerio fino alla linea nuova cinta fortificata fatto da Aureliano.'<sup>136</sup>

*Grab mit dem Pfauenmosaik vor der Porta S. Sebastiano (Abb. 32)*

Die Neuorganisation des Strassennetzes in dieser Region umfasste aber auch weite Teile der Viale di Porta Ardeatina, der Ringstrasse bis zur Porta S. Sebastiano. Im Zuge der Bauarbeiten wurde der Sachverhalt über den lokalen Umfang der Sondierungen weiter verunklärt. Pietrangeli pu-

blizierte ein 1937 ausgegrabenes tonnengewölbtes Grab zwischen dem westlichen Torturm von Porta S. Sebastiano und dem republikanischen Grab am Beginn der Via Appia,<sup>137</sup> das also heute unter dem Asphalt der modernen Strasse zu lokalisieren ist. Die Ziegelkonstruktion des Arcosolgrabes (4.48 x 3.70 m) enthielt im Inneren ein rechteckiges Schwarz-Weiss-Mosaik mit der in ein Oktogon eingeschriebenen polychromen Darstellung von einer Pfauenfamilie im Blumen-garten und ausserdem Reste von Wandmalerei.<sup>138</sup> Pietrangeli datiert das Grab wegen des Fundes eines gläsernen Gefässbodens mit der Beschriftung Faustini und des Mosaiks in die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts. Aufgrund der für Rom atypischen Bordüre mit versetzt plastischem Hakenmäander kann es jedoch frühestens Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts angelegt worden sein.<sup>139</sup>

Die drei Arcosolien waren mit Sepulkral-themen freskiert: Dionysos und die schlafende Ariadne auf Naxos; im Zentrum eines Arcosolienbogens Amor und Psyche vereint.<sup>140</sup> Diese Fresken wurden durch Aquarelle von L. Cartocci festgehalten.<sup>141</sup> In der Auffassung der Zeit entspricht das Festhalten der Malerei in Aquarellen einem ähnlichen ästhetischen Empfinden, wie die Bewahrung der Mosaiken als dekoratives Ensemble in einer Kirche wie S. Balbina. Die Inschriften publizierte Pietrangeli gesondert und fügte eine Lageskizze hinzu (Abb. 32).<sup>142</sup>

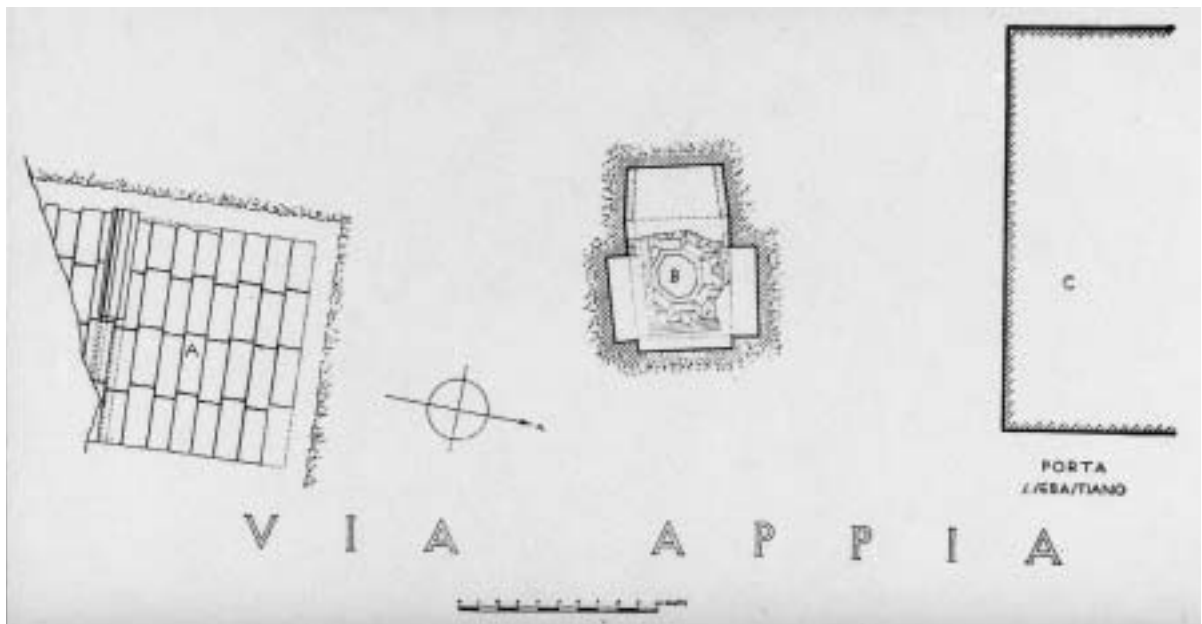


Abb. 32. Grabmonument mit Pfauenmosaik nahe Porta S. Sebastiano.



Die Nekropole an der 'Via Imperiale' zwischen der Viale Guido Baccelli und Viale delle Terme di Caracalla geht auf ein altes Bestattungsareal zurück.<sup>143</sup> Frühe Erdbestattungen mit Buccherokeramik weisen in das 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. In der wohl fragmentarischen Fundauflistung im Archivio di Stato im Palazzo Altemps werden 'alcuni kantharoi di bucchero con grifi graffiti' genannt, von denen einer als Archivfoto zu identifizieren ist mit den Angaben H 12 cm, Dm. 23 cm (Abb. 33).

Die darüberliegenden Grabbauten stammen von der frühen Kaiserzeit bis zum Bau der Aurelianischen Mauer. Die hauptsächliche Belegung erfolgte in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts. Deshalb sind die nächsten Vergleichsbeispiele die hadrianischen Grabbauten der Vatikannekropole.<sup>144</sup> Die beobachteten Gräber sind überwiegend kleine einräumige Familienmausoleen und - wie im 2. Jahrhundert üblich -

zweigeschossige Gräber mit Cella superiore und inferiore. Hierfür kann das Columbarium Nr. 34 mit dem Pfauenmosaik zum Vergleich herangezogen werden,<sup>145</sup> das zwar nicht in die Lage-skizze<sup>146</sup> eingetragen ist, von dem sich aber gesonderte Zeichnungen erhalten haben (Taf. 10).

Das Mauerwerk bestand nach Ausweis der alten Grabungsfotos aus Reticulat mit oder ohne Ziegeldurchschuss oder auch Ziegelmauerwerk. Neben reinen Columbarien nach Art derer in der Vigna Codini gibt es Mischformen mit Arco-solgräbern und darüberliegenden Reihen von Urnennischen wie beispielsweise beim Grab des Pomponius Hylas. Darüber hinaus fanden sich Dekorationsformen wie Nischen mit Muschelkalotten (Abb. 17),<sup>147</sup> figürliche Stuckaturen,<sup>148</sup> geometrische und figürliche Malereien mit Vögeln, Girlanden und Gefäßen innerhalb farblich abgesetzter Dekorationen.<sup>149</sup> Die reiche Mosaikausstattung der Grabbauten scheint charakteristisch für diese Nekropole zu sein.

Als weitere figürliche, farbige Mosaiken werden



Abb. 33. Buccherokeramik 'con grifi graffiti', Foto Archivio Storico.

in der Grabkunst geläufige Motive erwähnt: Alter Satyr, der sich auf einen jungen stützt oder eine Mänadenbüste. Die meisten Mosaiken sind jedoch geometrische Schwarz-Weiss-Mosaiken oder solche mit vegetabilem Dekor.

Von dem grossen Columbarium Nr. 33 ist ebenfalls ein Grundriss erhalten,<sup>150</sup> während weitere Archiv-Fotos Reichtum und Schmuck dieses Grabes erahnen lassen. Auf der während der Ausgrabung sichtbaren Längsseite sind lange Loculi-Reihen erkennbar, die an frühkaiserzeitliche Liberti-Monumente wie die in der Villa Doria Pamphili im Museo Nazionale Romano,<sup>151</sup> in der Vigna Codini oder zwischen der 2. und 3. Meile der Via Appia Antica<sup>152</sup> denken lassen. Doch der erhaltene Grundriss zeigt, dass an diesem Grabbau bereits die Hinwendung zur kleinteiligeren Privatheit vollzogen ist, mit der man eine Änderung der Bestattungssitten gegen Ende des 1. und Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts verbindet. In der Wandmalerei von Columbarium Nr. 33 alternieren kandelaberartige Wandgliederungen mit filigranen Figuren auf hellem Putz, Dekorationen, die im profanen Bereich durchaus mit Deckenmalereien wie der in der Vigna Guidi zusammengehen. Aber auch in der Grabmalerei finden sich vergleichbar grosszügige Kompositionen.

Zahlreiche der überwiegend lateinischen aber auch griechischen Inschriften nennen kaiserliche Liberti. Die Grabbauten dieser Nekropole waren jedoch keineswegs ausschliesslich der kaiserlichen Familie vorbehalten, sondern - vergleichbar mit anderen Nekropolen an den Ausfallstrassen Roms - für die gehobene Mittelschicht bestimmt.

Die Vielzahl der Befunde und die wenig erhellen- den Grabungsumstände in politisch bewegter Zeit geben Anlass, sich weiter mit der Nekropole an der 'Via Imperiale' und angrenzenden Nekropolen innerhalb und ausserhalb der Aurelianischen Mauer und ihrer Zeitstellung auseinanderzusetzen - ein Desiderat der Forschung.

Seit dem Bau der Caracalla-Thermen und der Aqua Antoniana wurde die Nekropole aufgegeben; die Bestattungen hörten mit dem Mauerbau auf.

#### ANLAGE 1 (KONKORDANZ)

Aus den Archiv-Unterlagen der Soprintendenza di Roma im Archivio di Stato ermittelte Daten/Funde aus den Jahren 1938/1939 zur Rekonstruktion der Nekropole 'Via Imperiale'

Schede Archivio Soprintendenza Archeologica 14-2-1938

- 17.09.1938 - Geländebegehung in Proprietà Giusti und Proprietà Federici
- 20.09.38 - Detailplan der Columbarien 30 und 32
- 21.10.38 - *Il Giornale d'Italia* berichtet von einem Mosaik mit Medusenhaupt
- 17.11.38 - Privathaus mit Zirkusmosaik und Landleben-Sarkophag entdeckt und erster Bericht über die Nekropole an das Ministero dell'Educazione
- 20.12.38 - Abnahme der Mosaiken und Überführung in das Museo Nazionale Romano
- 03.01.39 - Bericht der Soprintendenza an das Ministerium über zwei Columbarien; in dem einen befindet sich ein 'mosaico motivi floreali, pavoni, e uccelli in pasta vitrea ed una Cella inferiore ad ipogeo con nicchie finemente stuccate dai colori freschissimi', in dem anderen ein bemaltes Gewölbe mit seitlicher Figur
- 25.01.39 - Fund von zwei Grabaren mit Girlanden und Bukranien, Vögeln und Eidechsen angezeigt undatierte Notiz - 2 Grabaltäre, 1 Mosaik, Fragmente von Inschriften und Terrakotten werden in das Museum überführt
- 19.02.39 - Soprintendenza meldet dem Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale die Auffindung von fünf Columbarien, Urnen, Inschriften, bemalte Wandteile; die Grabung befinde sich im unteren Teil der Nekropole (?)
- 30.03.39 - Vortrag von P.E. Arias im Museo dell'Impero über die Grabungsbefunde
- 28.03.39 - Überführung des Julius Achilleus-Sarkophages in das Nationalmuseum
- 04.05.39 - Ruinen località Mustaccino (?)
- 07.06.39 - Bitte um Restaurierung des Zirkus-Mosaiks
- 20.06.39 - Columbarium mit bemalten Wänden gemeldet
- 15.12.39 - Korrespondenz zwischen Soprintendenza und der Firma Vaselli, die anscheinend die Via Imperiale anlegte; es wird ein antikes Gebäude mit 2 männlichen und 2 weiblichen Statuen gemeldet.

#### ANLAGE 2

*Elenco del materiale rinvenuto nella necropoli della via Imperiale presso la Porta Ardeatina*

- Sarcofago con scena pastorale, già edito nelle 'Arti' [Le arti 2 (1939) 24-26.] dal sottoscritto [P.E. Arias]
- Alzata di sarcofago con putti che suonano e danzano (fot. Gab. Fot. Naz. E 23091)
- Sarcofago con maschere teatrali tra festoni e putti sugli angoli, con alzate con figure di sta-

gioni, putti, e maschere fluviali sugli angoli (Gab. Fot. Naz. E 23088, 23089, 23090)

- Sarcofago bacchico con alzata su cui sono da un lato due ritratti dietro parapétasma sostenuto da putti e dall'altro scena di vendemmia. In basso sulla fronte scena bacchica [...]
- Due are quadrangolari decorate a rilievo, l'una con tripodi ricolmi di corone sugli angoli (fot. Gab. Fot. Naz. E 23086), l'altra con teste di ariete festoni e pàtere (fot. Gab. Fot. Naz. E 23082)
- N. 1 statua marmorea acefala seduta ed ampiamente panneggiata col gemito destro che sostiene il volto
- N. 1 statua seduta acefala panneggiata colle braccia puntate sul sedia
- Mosaico in bianco e nero con pavone al centro e fronde agli angoli inquadrato da treccia e rombi
- Grande mosaico con scena di circo e nomi delle factiones e degli atleti
- Mosaico policromo con testa gorgonica al centro e decorazione geometrica di triangoli disposti in cerchio intorno
- Fronte di sarcofago frammentario con Ninfe e Satiri entro nimbi
- Alzata di sarcofago con scena pastorale rappresentante pecore mucche cani e pastori semidraiati o appoggiati al bastone
- Fronte di sarcofago con putti alati intenti a lavori di pastorizia, mentre quelli al centro sostengono un medaglione con l'iscrizione D.M.P.FI. Alexander P.F.M. V. DXIII, [Avetta 33,4]
- Mosaico geometrico con due file di flabelli che inquadrano una figura di vecchio seminudo con serpente
- Mosaico geometrico con cerchi ad archi bianchi e neri
- Altro mosaico geometrico con riquadri con figure collegati da meandri
- Intonaco dipinto di una volta con figure alate femminile e costellazione (fot. Gab. Fot. Naz. E 23001)
- Collanina aurea con perline, pendaglietto, due uncini e un anellino aureo
- Alcuni kantharoi di bucchero con grifi graffiti.
- Numerosi (ca. 80) iscrizioni sepolcrali appartenenti ai columbari della necropoli.

#### ANMERKUNGEN

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- 1 M. Pallotino, *Roma 1941 - XIX*, 3-4 (Regione I-Porta Capena).
- 2 A. Auer, *Die Columbarien der späten Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit in den Nekropolen Roms und ihre Ausstattung*. Magister-Arbeit München 1989 (ungedruckt); Feraudi-Gruénais 2001.
- 3 R. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, I, Roma 1937, 84-93; M. Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*, 2, 3<sup>a</sup> ed. a cura di C. Cecchelli, Roma 1942, 724-726; *Santa Balbina, cenni religiosi, storico artistici*, Roma 1954; L. Lotti, *La Basilica di S. Balbina all'Aventino*, *Alma Roma* 13, 2-3 (1972) 1-42; M. Trinci Cecchelli, *La diocesi di Roma* (= *Corpus della scultura altomedievale 7/4*), Roma 1976, 53-62; W. Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms*, 1, Wien 1967, 424-430; *LTUR* 1 (1993) 155, Fig. 82 s.v. S. Balbina Titulus (S. Episcopo); *Aurea Roma dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, Roma 2000, 135-136 fig. 2, 3. Die Basilika untersteht dem Vatikanischen Kapitel.
- 4 Balbina wurde zusammen mit ihrem Vater, dem römischen Tribun Quirinus von Papst Alexander getauft, nachdem er sie von einer Geschwulst (Kropf?) geheilt hatte. Sie fand angeblich die Ketten des Hl. Petrus und wird als Märtyrerin verehrt, obwohl das *Martyrologium Romanum* lediglich erwähnt 'nach vollbrachter Erden-taufe'. Patronatsfest 31. März. Auf dem Hochaltar wird ihre Reliquie, die ihres Vaters S. Quirinus und S. Felicissimus in einer Urne aus Jaspis verehrt. Diesen Altar schmückte ehemals ein Ziborium auf vier Säulen. Weitere Märtyrer wurden hier beigesetzt : vgl. das Ossuarium in der letzten Kapelle vor der Apsis im linken Seitenschiff.
- 5 *LTUR* 5 (1999) 42 - 48 s.v. *Thermae Antonianae* (M. Piranomonte).
- 6 *LTUR* 1 (1993) 149-150 (M. Andreussi). Zur früheren Bebauung in dieser Region: I. Jacopi, Soffitto dipinto nella casa romana di 'Vigna Guidi' sotto le Terme di Caracalla, *RM* 79 (1972) 89-108, Taf. 53-62; zur Architektur: 111-121, Taf. 63-65 a. O. C. Moccheggiano Carpano, Osservazioni complementari sulle strutture della casa romana sotto le Terme di Caracalla. Zum Verlauf der Servianischen Stadtmauer zwischen Kapitol und Aventin: A. von Gerkan, *RM* 46 (1931) 153-188.
- 7 P.S. Bartoli, *Gli antichi sepolcri ovvero mausolei romani et etruschi. Trovati in Roma & in altri luoghi celebri; nelle quali si contengono molte erudite Memorie*, Roma 1697, Taf. 45, 46; ders., *Antichi Sepolcri*, Roma 1704, Taf. 39-40; H. von Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten*, Darmstadt 1992, 82 Abb. 38 (Prospekt).
- 8 P.S. Bartoli, *Memorie di varie escavazioni fatte in Roma e nei luoghi suburbani vivente Pietro Santi Bartoli*, Roma 1690, 78. - Vgl. Ch. Riebesell, *Die Sammlung des Kardinal Alessandro Farnese. Ein 'studio' für Künstler und Gelehrte*, Weinheim 1989, 12.
- 9 F. Guidobaldi, L'edilizia abitativa unifamiliare nella Roma tardoantica, in: A. Giardina (ed.), *Società romana e Impero tardoantico*, II, Roma/Bari 1986, 181-182; ders.



- L'inserimento delle chiese titolari di Roma nel tessuto urbano preesistente: osservazioni ed implicazioni, in: *Quaritur inventus colitur* (Miscellanea Fasola), Città del Vaticano 1989, 391, n. 27; ders., *LTUR* 2 (1995) 95-96. Nash I, 352, Abb. 426 (Foto 3701; Fototeca di Architettura e Topografia dell'Italia Antica).
- <sup>10</sup> CIL VI 742, von Ghezzi. Vgl. Mithraeum unter S. Prisca, Reg. XIII, ein Quadriporticus um 200 n.Chr.: *LTUR* 4 (1999) 163 (M.G. Zanotti); *LTUR* 3 (1996) Fig. 180-181 Mithraeum unter S. Saba, *NSc* 1925, 384, Fig. 3. Auch der Isis-Kult war auf dem Aventin angesiedelt, vgl. S. Ensoli, Il santuario di Iside e Serapide a Roma e la residenza pagana in età tardoantica, in: *Aurea Roma* 2000, 267 Fig. 1 (Iseum bei S. Sabina an der Servianischen Mauer und gegenüber an Thermae Antoninianae an der Via Nova bzw. Appia überliefert).
- <sup>11</sup> Zur Technik vgl. Saur, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* 21 (1999) 398 (P.C. Clausen).
- <sup>12</sup> E. Del Bufalo, La via Imperiale, in: *V Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani 24-30 aprile 1938* (Maschinenmanuskript, vgl. Cardilli Anm. 27); ders., La via Imperiale e il suo significato storico e politico, *Quaderni della Roma di Mussolini* 10 (1940).
- <sup>13</sup> Vgl. Nash II, 200, Abb. 935: Lageplan der Porta Ardeatina hinter der Bastione di Sangallo; C. Hülsen *RM* 9 (1894) 320.
- <sup>14</sup> Cardilli 110 fig. 2.
- <sup>15</sup> Ch. Reusser, *Der Fidestempel auf dem Kapitol in Rom und seine Ausstattung. Ein Beitrag zu den Ausgrabungen an der Via del Mare und um das Kapitol 1926-1943*, Roma 1993, 13-31. Zur kompromisslosen Preisgabe historischer Stadtviertel und suburbaner Zonen vgl. *Der Neue Pauly, Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 13 (1999) Sp. 1084-1096 (S. Pisani); A. Muñoz, *Il restauro del Tempio Virile*, Roma 1925; ders., *Il Restauro della Basilica di S. Giorgio al Velabro in Roma*, Roma 1926; ders., *Il Museo di Roma*, 2. ed. Roma 1930; ders., *Via dei monti e via del mare*, 2. ed. Roma 1932; ders., *Via dell'Impero*, Roma 1933; ders., *Via dei Trionfi, Isolamento del Campidoglio*, 2. ed. Roma 1933; ders., *La via del Circo Massimo*, Roma 1934-XII, u.a. Restaurierung des Torre Frangipani; ders., *Il restauro della Basilica di S. Sabina*, Roma 1938-XVI.
- <sup>16</sup> Vgl. u.a. S. Giorgio in Velabro, S. Sabina.
- <sup>17</sup> A. Muñoz, Restauri e nuove indagini su alcuni monumenti della Via Appia, *BCom* 1 (1913) 5-21, tav. 1-6. Muñoz veranlasste die Begrünung am Oppius über der Domus Aurea, beim Venus und Roma Tempel am Forum, auf dem Kapitol und liess entlang der Via Appia Antica zwischen 1909 und 1913 Gruppen von 100 Pinien und 3000 Zypressen pflanzen.
- <sup>18</sup> V. Fraticelli, *Roma 1914-1929. La città degli architetti tra la guerra e il fascismo*, Roma 1982, 357 - 359; L. Barroero/A. Conti/A.M. Racheli/M. Serio, *Via dei Fori Imperiali. La zona archeologica di Roma: urbanistica, beni artistici e politica culturale*, Roma 1983.
- <sup>19</sup> Tor in der Servianischen Mauer. Platner/Ashby 405. Der Name ging im Mittelalter auf die Porta Ostiense über, so dass bei Herkunftsangaben auch diese gemeint sein kann. Vgl. H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* I, 1, Berlin 1878, 369; Ch. Kühn in Zusammenarbeit mit A. Alexandridis, *Italianische Fotografien aus der Sammlung John Henry Parker 1806-1884*, Berlin 2001, Abb. 37: Parkers Grabung während des Winteraufenthaltes 1867-1868 an der Porta Capena [Schnitt]. Vgl. J.H. Parker, *Archaeology of Rome* 1 (2. ed.), *The Primitive Fortifications of the City of Rome*, Oxford/London 1878, Pl. LIV-LVI.
- <sup>20</sup> Generalplan 1937, mit dessen Ausführung Marcello Piacentini betraut war.
- <sup>21</sup> A. Muñoz, Il restauro di una basilica cristiana: Santa Balbina, *Capitolium* 7 (1931) 34-43; ders., *Roma di Mussolini*, 13 (1935) 268-269 (nach der Restaurierung). 1934 leitete Muñoz als Archäologe zusammen mit dem Architekten Vittorio Ballio Morpurgo auch die Freilegung des Augustusmausoleum.
- <sup>22</sup> Nash II, 200, Abb. 935-940: Werk des Festungsarchitekten Antonio Sangallo il Giovane.
- <sup>23</sup> H. Fuhrmann, *AA* 1940, 446-452.
- <sup>24</sup> L. Quilici, *La via Appia da Roma a Bovillae*, Roma 1977; *Via Appia sulle ruine della magnificenza antica*, Roma 1997; A. Esch, *Römische Strassen in ihrer Landschaft: das Nachleben antiker Strassen*, Mainz 1997, 3-25 (Via Appia zwischen Albano und Cisterna).
- <sup>25</sup> Ch. Hülsen, *Passeggiata Archeologica und Zona Monumentale in Rom*, Intern. Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Technik 7, no. 5, Februar 1913, 2-22 u. Taf.; P. Becchetti, *Immagini della Campagna Romana 1853-1915*, Roma 1983, Abb. 197.
- <sup>26</sup> Platner/Ashby 403; Nash II, 200.
- <sup>27</sup> I. Insolera/L. Di Majo, *L'EUR e Roma dagli anni Trenta al Duemila*, Roma 1986, Abb. 5-6; Cardilli 111 Abb. 7.
- <sup>28</sup> H. Garbrecht/H. Manderscheid, *ACI* 44 (1992) 193-234; Avetta 43 Nr. 50.
- <sup>29</sup> Vgl. R. Santolini Giordani, *Antichità Casali. La Collezione di Villa Casali a Roma* (= Studi Miscellanei 27, 1978-1979), Roma 1989, 58 (Plan), vgl. Fig. 13,16,19 (Ausgrabungen 1746, 1775, 1871-1872).
- <sup>30</sup> C. Labruzzi, *Via Appia illustrata ab Urbe Roma ad Capuam*, Roma 1789. Vgl. M. Buonoccore, *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 15 (1999) 347-350.
- <sup>31</sup> Gemeint ist das Mosaik mit Medusenhaupt C. 25, a.O. Abb. 5.
- <sup>32</sup> Archiv-Inventar 31/13, 2/24, 33/16.
- <sup>33</sup> P. Arias, Are sepolcrali della Via Imperiale in Roma, *BCom* 70 (1942) 107-113.
- <sup>34</sup> Arias 1942, 107-108 Taf. 1; M. Honroth, *Stadtrömische Girlanden*, Mainz 1971, Kat. 43 (claudisch?); Boschung 1987, 200 Nr. 702, Taf. 25 (FO: 118); Inst. Neg. Rom 62.999-62.1001; A. Giuliano (Hrsg.) *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture*, I, 8, 1, Roma 1985, 68 Nr. II, 10 mit Abb. (F. Taglietti).
- <sup>35</sup> Inst.Neg. 62.995-62.998; Honroth 1971 Kat. 44; Avetta 1985, tav. 37,1 (161); Boschung 1987, Nr. 772; Giuliano 1985 (s. Anm. 34), 74 Nr. II, 12 mit Abb. (F. Taglietti).
- <sup>36</sup> P. Arias, *Le arti* 2 (1939-1940) 24-25. - In dieser ersten Besprechung wird S. 24 Anm.1 die Grabungspublikation in *NSc* angekündigt, die nicht erfolgte. Vgl. Avetta 1985.
- <sup>37</sup> P. Arias, *BCom* 70 (1942) 112.
- <sup>38</sup> Goffredo/Sagonetti 1997, fig. 3.
- <sup>39</sup> E. Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung frühchristlicher Bildwerke*, Berlin 1997, 42-43, Abb. 24-26.
- <sup>40</sup> Goffredo/Sagonetti 1997, fig. 2; für antike Mosaiken mit Kantharoi vgl. G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia, IV. Mosaici e Pavimenti Marmorei*, Roma 1961, tav. 192-195.
- <sup>41</sup> Becatti 1961 (s. Anm. 41), tav. 44-45; ders., *Case ostiensi del tardo impero*, Roma 1948, fig. 2. Vgl. Avetta 1985, Taf. 27,1. Das Fächerblattmotiv des Ausgrabungsfotos entspricht im Detail nicht dem des Mosaiks in S. Balbina; es handelt sich lediglich um ein sehr ähnliches Mosaik.
- <sup>42</sup> Vgl. hospitalia in der Villa Adriana, frühes 2. Jh. n.Chr.
- <sup>43</sup> Nash II, 346-348, Abb. 1120-1122; Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 97-101 K 44.

- <sup>44</sup> H. Kammerer-Grothaus, Der Deus Rediculus im Triopion des Herodes Atticus. Untersuchungen am Bau und zu polychromer Ziegelarchitektur des 2. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. in Latium, RM 81 (1974) 244 (heiliger Hain des Triopion); Sinn 1987, 57.
- <sup>45</sup> J. Esteve Forriol, *Die Trauer- und Trostgedichte in der römischen Literatur*, Berlin 1962, 153.
- <sup>46</sup> Becatti 1948, fig. 47 (Domus delle Colonne, cortile); vgl. Centocelle, Villa 'Ad duas lauros': R. Volpe, Le ville del suburbio di Roma, in: *Aurea Roma* 2000, 163-164, Abb. 6.
- <sup>47</sup> Becatti 1961, Taf. 80, 293 (Caseggiato di Bacco e Arianna).
- <sup>48</sup> Vgl. Goffredi/Sagonetti 1997, fig. 5; RE 10 A (1972) 567-568 s.v. Zodiakos (W. Gundel). Vgl. P.S. Bartoli, *Gli antichi sepolcri Romani*, Roma 1697 (= rep. ed. 1997), Taf. 22; F. Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VIII 2, Berlin 1908, 302-303 Nr. 388b-389; Th. v. Scheffer, *Die Legende der Sterne*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1939, 249; M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Le antichità di Villa Medici*, Roma 1951, 46, Taf. 19; W. Gundel, *Sternnglaube, Sternreligion und Sternorakel*, Heidelberg 1959, 93; K. Kerényi, Die religionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des Diskos von Brindisi, RM 70 (1963) 93-99; E. Svenberg, *Lunaria et Zodiacologia latina* (= Studia graeca et latina Gothoburgensia 16), Gotheborg 1963; H. v. Gall, Bemerkungen zum Bogen des Dativius Victor in Mainz, *MainzerJb* 15 (1968) 98-119; W. Hübner, Das Sternbild der Waage bei den römischen Dichtern, *Antike und Abendland* 3 (1977) 50-51; H.G. Gundel, Imagines Zodiaci, in: *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* I, Leiden 1978, 438-454; G. Ristow, Zum Kosmokrator im Zodiacus, *ibid.*, III, 985-987; M. Musso, *Manifattura santuaria e committenza pagana nella Roma del IV secolo. Indagine sulla Lanx di Parabiago*, Roma 1983, 25-49. Vgl. H.-U. Cain, *Römische Marmorkandelaber*, Mainz 1985, 120-121; LIMC VIII (1997) 490-492 s.v. Zodiacus (F. Sury).
- <sup>49</sup> Becatti 1961, Taf. 84-86, 268 (fig. 56).
- <sup>50</sup> Goffredi/Sagonetti 1997, Fig. 6. Vgl. auch K. Weber, Mosaiken aus Rom. Polychrome Mosaikpavimente und Emblemata aus Rom und Umgebung, Würzburg 1994, 323 K 148.
- <sup>51</sup> Goffredi/Sagonetti 1997, Fig. 7-8.
- <sup>52</sup> Avetta 1985, 58-241, Taf. 33-73. - Rez.: P. Arnaud, REA 32 (1988) 467-468; J. Képartova, Klio 70 (1988) 584-586; T.P. Wiseman, JRS 79 (1989) 212-213.
- <sup>53</sup> Sequestrierung des Kirchenbesitzes 1873; er wurde ein Jahr später E. De Ruggiero, Prof. für griechische und römische Altertümer der Universität Rom, anvertraut.
- <sup>54</sup> H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namensbuch*, I, Berlin/New York 1982.
- <sup>55</sup> Avetta 1985, 42-45, Taf. 5-32.
- <sup>56</sup> Avetta 1985, 41.
- <sup>57</sup> Cat. 38 Dis. 33 Inv. 776; 2/24; 31/13 Skizzen; 33/16 Fotos; 148/19 archäologische Materialien.
- <sup>58</sup> Avetta 1985, 44-45 Nr. 53.
- <sup>59</sup> Inv. 125899; AFS 2639 E.
- <sup>60</sup> Avetta 1985, Taf. 27, 1.
- <sup>61</sup> Vgl. Hephaistosmosaik, Pergamonmuseum Mos. 70 (1. Hälfte - Mitte 2. Jh. v.Chr.): I. Kriseleit, *Altes Pergamonmuseum. Antike Mosaiken*, Berlin 2000, 17-23, Kat. 5 (Pergamon, Palast V); zur Grabwand Deschebel Mezza: A. Parrot/M.H. Chéhab/S. Moscati, *Die Phönizier. Die Entwicklung der phönizischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des dritten punischen Krieges*, Köln 1977, 185 Abb. 201.
- <sup>62</sup> H. Fuhrmann, AA 1940, 45.
- <sup>63</sup> Avetta 1985, 42 Nr. 46, Taf. 6.1.2.
- <sup>64</sup> Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 40-45 K10-12.
- <sup>65</sup> I. Baldassarre, *QuadAEI* 4, 1980 (= Archeologia laziale 3) 124.
- <sup>66</sup> Avetta 1985, Taf. 25,1.
- <sup>67</sup> Verbleib bisher ungeklärt.
- <sup>68</sup> Inv. 125532; AFS 50785 I.
- <sup>69</sup> Typ Rondanini: LIMC IV (1988) Gorgones Romanae 346-347 Nr. 10-13, 24, bes. 12 aus Ostia (= Becatti 1961, 25 Nr. 42), 356 Taf. 72,42. Allgemein: K. Parlasca, *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland*, Berlin 1959, 85, Taf. 83. 2 (Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Inv. 16272); C.H. McKeon - C. Kessenbruch, *Iconology of the Gorgon Medusa in Roman Mosaic*, Michigan 1986. Zur Bedeutung von Gorgoneia im Sepulkralbereich vgl. B. Andreae, *Studien zur römischen Grabkunst* (RM Erg.H. 9), Heidelberg 1963, 69-73.
- <sup>70</sup> K. Türr, *OP ART. Stil, Ornament oder Experiment?*, Berlin 1986, 12, 148-151, Anm. 138 (Bibl.). Vgl. Museo Nazionale Romano Inv. 56.253 (Mitte 2. Jh. n.Chr.) und Inv. 124704 (ehem. 114893), 1933 in Settecamine an der Via Tiburtina gefunden (Anfang 3. Jh. n.Chr.). Weitere Vergleiche: Eremitage in Leningrad, in der sog. Villa des Ovid an der Via Cassia, im Palazzo Massimo [di Pirro] (16. Jh., Corso Vittorio Emanuele Nr. 145) 1818 in der Tenuta di Tor Sapienza vor Porta Maggiore gefunden) vgl. R. Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma* 6 (1700-1878), a cura di Paolo Liverani e Maria Rosaria Rosso, Roma 2000, 272 Fig. 158; FO: bei S. Stefano Rotondo (R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma...5 (1605-1700)*, Roma 1994, 255 fig. 166. In Unteritalien vgl. A. Allroggen-Bedel/H. Kammerer-Grothaus, in: *La Villa dei Papiri*, Napoli 1983, 111 u. Abb. 16 (opus sectile im zweiten Zimmer des Museo Ercolanese in Portici).
- <sup>71</sup> Vgl. A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Ser. C.1-2, Roma 1963-1966, 112 Nr. 65; 124 Nr. 79; 126 Nr. 80 passim; M.-Th. Couilloud, Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée, *Delos* 30 (1974) 237-239, Abb. 12, Taf. 91 Rhenaia; P.N. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, Oxford 1977; H. Drerup, RM 87 (1980) 93-94, Abb. 2; V. M. Strocka, in: *Festschrift F.K. Dörner*, Leiden 1984 (= EPRO 66,2) 884.
- <sup>72</sup> Avetta 1985, 42 Nr. 47, Taf. 8,1. 2.
- <sup>73</sup> Avetta 1985, Taf. 21,1.
- <sup>74</sup> Vgl. Sinn 1987, 5,9; F. Sinn-Henninger, in: G. Koch/H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, München 1982, 43. E.M. Moormann, Le tombeau de Caius Vestorius Priscus à Pompéi, in: *Au royaume des ombres. La peinture funéraire antique. Cat. Musée et sites archéologique Saint-Romain-en-Gal/Vienne* 1998, 96-100; ebenda S. De Maria, le tombeau de la via Portuense à Rome, 126-130.
- <sup>75</sup> Inv.124527; Neg. 314771 L; Aurigemma 1950, Anm. 37.
- <sup>76</sup> D. Michel, Pompejanische Gärtenmalereien, in: *Tainia. Festschrift R. Hampe*, Mainz 1980, 383 bes. Anm. 64.
- <sup>77</sup> Vgl. Avetta 1985, 18,1.2.
- <sup>78</sup> Avetta 1985, 18,1.
- <sup>79</sup> Avetta 1985, Taf. 15,1.2 und 26, 1-4.
- <sup>80</sup> Avetta 1985, 60 ff, Taf. 15,1.2 und 36, 1-4.
- <sup>81</sup> Inv. 1343; FO: Ostia. Helbig<sup>4</sup>, Nr. 316 (E. Simon); G. Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* (Archäologische Forschungen 12), Berlin 1982, Nr. 25. *Epigraphica* 37 (1975) 208 Abb. 18. Zur Form vgl. G. Rodenwald, BWPr 83 (1925) 16; Sinn 1987, 12 Anm. 5 (einige Ollae, bzw. Urnenbehälter).
- <sup>82</sup> H. Brandenburg, JdI 93 (1978) 294.; G. Koch, *Sarkophage der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Darmstadt 1993, 29, 154-156, Abb. 15, 2.
- <sup>83</sup> Inv. 36920 mit 8 Öffnungen (H 82, L 175, T 96 cm); Inv. 364921 mit 5 Öffnungen (H 87, L 165, T 75 cm); Neg. 200528/9 L. - Giuliani 1985 I, 8, 478, cat. IX, 5 und 6.
- <sup>84</sup> Inv. 124707; vgl. Helbig<sup>4</sup>, Nr. 2131.
- <sup>85</sup> Avetta 1985, Taf. 22, 3. Dass es sich dabei um das Untergeschoss handelt, beweist die Angabe von Luftschächten.

- <sup>86</sup> Avetta 1985, Taf. 24, 2 und 26, 2.
- <sup>87</sup> R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, Roma 1901, Taf. 45; M. Eisner, *Zur Typologie der Grabbauten im Suburbium Roms* (RM Erg.H. 26), Mainz 1986, 25-27, Ra.b, Taf. 4, 1-5. Die Datierung verdanke ich dem Hinweis von M. Schwarz, deren Dissertation (Köln 2001) die Chronologie und soziale Bedeutung der römischen Grabrundbauten in Italien berücksichtigt.
- <sup>88</sup> G. Nolli, *Roma al tempo di Benedetto XIV*, Roma 1993; S. Borsi, *Roma di Benedetto XIV, la pianta di Giovanni Battista Nolli, 1748*, Roma 1993.
- <sup>89</sup> Boschung 1987, Nr. 958 u. Abb. 958b.
- <sup>90</sup> Inv. 121794; Inst.Neg. Rom 72.3014. - Giuliano 1988, I, 10 169 Nr. 185 mit Abb. und Lit. (M. Sapelli).
- <sup>91</sup> Matz/Duhn Nr. 2356.
- <sup>92</sup> H. Jucker, Römische Porträtbüsten auf Blätterkelch, in: *Atti del settimo congresso internazionale di Archeologia Classica*, Roma 1961, III, 483.
- <sup>93</sup> Museo Ostiense, Magazzino Nr. 1499; Inst. Neg. Rom 75928.
- <sup>94</sup> Vgl. LIMC VII (1994) s.v. Psyche 94.
- <sup>95</sup> Sinn 1987, 221 Nr. 534, Taf. 79 d. Weitere Beispiele zu diesem Urnentyp: A. Sadurska, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Pologne II*, Warschau 1990, Taf. 28, 41 (Iocaste-Mythos), 42.
- <sup>96</sup> Vgl. u.a. Avetta 1985, Taf. 44 - 45.
- <sup>97</sup> Inv. 121649 (Magazin): Sinn 1987, Nr. 515, Taf. 77 c.
- <sup>98</sup> Inv. 121644, (Magazin): Sinn 1987, Nr. 674 Taf. 97 a,b.
- <sup>99</sup> Inv.Nr. 121657: Helbig<sup>4</sup>, Nr. 2131; Giuliani I, 2 (1981) 144-146 Nr. 41 (S.A. Dayan/L. Musso).
- <sup>100</sup> Inv. 121593, Neg. 201151 L: Giuliani 1985, I 8 Parte I, cat. V 14.
- <sup>101</sup> Inv. 121666; Neg 64038/9 I: S. Aurigemma, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, Roma 5.ed. (nach 1950), 119 Nr. 325, Taf. 70 b.
- <sup>102</sup> Vgl. Riefelsarkophag in S. Maria in Domnica mit zwei Schafen und seitlichen Eroten, zweite Hälfte 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. [SBAS, Roma, Inv. 91274; Soprintendenza Beni Art. e Stor. Neg. 150488].
- <sup>103</sup> Inv. Nr. 126272 (H 91 cm), 126273 (H 77 cm), 126274 (H 101 cm): Giuliani 1984, I 7, 2, 361-363 Cat. XI, 20-22.
- <sup>104</sup> Inv. 2495: Helbig<sup>4</sup>, Nr. 525 (W. Fuchs); B. Brizzi, *Le fontane di Roma*, Roma 1980, 18 Abb. 12. Vgl. einen weiteren knieenden Silen dieses Typus im Garten des Palazzo Caffarelli auf dem Kapitol, der 1874 in der Via di Porta S. Lorenzo nahe Stazione Termini gefunden wurde und möglicherweise von den Diokletians-Thermen hierher verbracht wurde.
- <sup>105</sup> Avetta 1985, 44-45.
- <sup>106</sup> M. Labrousse, Le pomérium de la Rome impériale. Notes de la topographie romaine, *MEFR* 54 (1937) 165-199; *LTUR* 5 (1999) 142-143 (J.R. Patterson); *Aurea Roma* 2000, 161-167.
- <sup>107</sup> Vgl. Jacopi (wie Anm. 6).
- <sup>108</sup> H. Mielsch, *Die römische Villa. Architektur und Lebensform*, München 1997, 86-91; R. Paris, *Via Appia. La Villa dei Quintili*, Roma 2000; grosses Haus mit Mosaik im Gräberfeld der Vigna S. Caesareo (trajanisch-hadrianisch). Vgl. auch das Platoriner-Grab nahe den Gärten der Villa Farnesina.
- <sup>109</sup> C.L. Visconti, *BdI* 1859, 10-17; F. Castagnoli, Documenti di scavi eseguiti in Roma negli anni 1860-70, *BCom* 73 (1949-1950) 168-173 (Regione XII, casa sotto le Terme di Caracalla fig. 23-35).
- <sup>110</sup> Hl. Papst Marcus (18.1.-7.10. 336), Patronatsfest 7. Oktober. Vgl. A. Ferrua, La basilica di papa Marco, *Civiltà Cattolica* 99 (1948) III, 503-513.
- <sup>111</sup> Vgl. J.H. Parker, *The Archaeology of Rome*, 4, Oxford/London 1874, Suppl. Taf. XVII (dort auch zur Fehlbenennung als Haus des Asinius Pollio).
- <sup>112</sup> C.L. Visconti, *BdI* 1859 164-165; vgl. *LTUR* 2 (1994) 406-407, Fig. 30-31 (= Lanciani *FUR*, Taf. 41 und Fragment 677; *Pianta marmorea* Taf. 590).
- <sup>113</sup> I. Jacopi, Soffitto dipinto nella casa romana di 'Vigna Guidi' sotto le Terme di Caracalla, *RM* 79 (1972) 89-110, Taf. 53-62, A, B (Fig. 2: Decke).
- <sup>114</sup> Ostia, Meerwesenmosaik in Terme dei Cisari und Terme di Nettuno, vgl. Becatti 1961, Taf. 107, 64; 124-136, 70-71.
- <sup>115</sup> *Antiche Stanze. Un quartiere di Roma Imperiale nella zona di Termini*, Roma 1996, 96-98, Taf. 1.
- <sup>116</sup> Vgl. Castagnoli 1949-1950 (wie Anm. 109), Fig. 32-33.
- <sup>117</sup> Vgl. fragmentarisches Bodenmosaik mit einem Vogel zwischen Zweigen und einem plastischen Wellenband in der Insula über dem Scipionengrab. Inst.Neg. Rom 76.31, 76.32.
- <sup>118</sup> Vgl. H. Herdejürgen, Sarkophage von der Via Latina. Folgerungen aus dem Fundkontext, *RM* 107 (2000) 213 Anm. 25 (Bibl. zur Abfolge der Villenbesitzer).
- <sup>119</sup> Avetta 1985, Taf. 2 Nr. 48.
- <sup>120</sup> Parker 1876, Supp., tav. 17.
- <sup>121</sup> C. Moccheggiani Carpano, Osservazioni complementari sulle strutture della casa romana sotto le Terme di Caracalla, *RM* 79 (1972) 111-121, Fig. 1.
- <sup>122</sup> Museo Nazionale Romano Inv. 124 705 (ehem. 12 1665); Helbig<sup>4</sup>, Nr. 2151 (K. Parlasca). Vgl. H. Fuhrmann, *AA* 1940, 447; Avetta 1985, 54-56, Taf. 10,2-11,3. Allgemein zu Wagenrennen: M. Junkelmann, in E. Köhne/C. Ewigleben (Hrsg.), *Caesaren und Gladiatoren. Die Macht der Unterhaltung im antiken Rom*, Hamburg 2000, 91-108.
- <sup>123</sup> Allgemein G. Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen*, Berlin 1982.
- <sup>124</sup> Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 125802. - P.E. Arias, Un nuovo sarcofago con scena pastorale, *Le Arti* 2, fasc. 1 ott.-nov. 1939, 24-26; Avetta 1985, 42-43 Nr. 48, 57-58, Taf. 33.2-3; J. Stroszeck, Zur Datierung des Julius Achilleus-Sarkophages, in G. Koch (Hrsg.), *Grabeskunst der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz 1993, 195; dies., *ASR* 6, Mainz 1998, 99 Kat. 301 Taf. 52.
- <sup>125</sup> C. Hülsen, *Hermes* 22 (1887) 615-626; *LTUR* 4 (1999) 96-105 (M. Andreussi).
- <sup>126</sup> *LTUR* 5 (1999) 133 (J.R. Patterson). Zur 'posterula di Vigna Casali' vgl. weiter: C. Pietrangeli, Una porta ignorata di Roma - la Posterula Ardeatina, *Capitolium* 20 (1945) 1-8; L. Quilici, in: *L'Urbs*, Rome 1987, 713-745.
- <sup>127</sup> Eisner 1986 (wie Anm. 37), 27-28, Taf. 5,1-4 (R 7); Nash II, 200 (zur Lage).
- <sup>128</sup> F. Coarelli, *Il Sepolcro degli Scipioni a Roma*, Roma 1988, 34.
- <sup>129</sup> Platner/Ashby 1965, 394.
- <sup>130</sup> M. Labrousse, Le Pomerium de la Rome imperial, *MEFR* 54 (1937) 165-199.
- <sup>131</sup> *RE* 21.2 (1952) bes. Sp. 1874-1875; *LTUR* 4 (1999) S. 96-105 (M. Andreussi). - S.M. Platner, The Pomerium and Roma quadrata, *AJPhil* 22 (1901) 420-425; Platner/Ashby 1965, 392-396; F. Coarelli, *Campo Marzio*, Roma 1997, 130-135, 322, 392.
- <sup>132</sup> Bestattungsverbot innerhalb des Pomerium: Cic. *Leg. II*, 23, 58 ff.: *hominem mortuum, inquit lex XII, in urbe ne sepelito neve urito; credo per propter ignis periculum!* Vgl. dazu *Lex coloniae Juliae sive Ursonensis*, Kap. 73.
- <sup>133</sup> Vgl. Pietrangeli (wie Anm. 113) 2-4. Zuletzt zu polychromer Ziegelarchitektur H. Kammerer-Grothaus, *RM* 107 (2000), bes. 341 - 347 (vgl. dies., *RM* 81 (1974) 131-149). Der Fülle der Beispiele ist die Fassade eines



- Bauwerks der Quintilier-Villa im Sektor G nördlich der Zirkus-Zisterne anzufragen (2. Jh. n.Chr.), vgl. Paris 2000, 50-51 Abb. 59.
- <sup>134</sup> Im Gelände der modernen Villa Almone wurden bisher keine Reste von Grabbauten beobachtet.
- <sup>135</sup> G. Lugli, *Fontes ad topographiam veteris urbis Romae pertinentes* 1, Romae 1952, Taf. III-IV.
- <sup>136</sup> M. Pallottino, *Roma* 1941-XIX, 3-4.
- <sup>137</sup> Nash II, 198; vor dem westlichen Torturm.
- <sup>138</sup> C. Pietrangeli, *Capitolium* 15 (1940) 911-915; ders., *BCom* 68 (1940) 216-217.
- <sup>139</sup> Vgl. Boden in Aquileia aus dem 1. Jahrhundert: C. Gesra, *Aquileia Chiama* 5, Dez. 1958, 11 (Abb.); *FA* 1957, Nr. 4292 Abb. 113. - Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich Mariette de Vos.
- <sup>140</sup> Diese Malereien wurden in das Antiquarium Forense (?) überführt.
- <sup>141</sup> Lucilio Cartocci (1879-1952), italienischer Maler und Graphiker, der zur Dokumentation archäologischer Grabungen herangezogen wurde, vgl. Saur, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* 17 (1997) 17.
- <sup>142</sup> C. Pietrangeli, *BCom* 68 (1940) 216-217.
- <sup>143</sup> N. Fuhrmann, *AA* 1940, 448.
- <sup>144</sup> H. Mielsch/H.v. Hesberg/K. Gaertner, *Die heidnische Nekropole unter S. Peter in Rom. Die Mausoleen A-D* (= Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia Serie III, Memorie Vol. XVI,1), Roma 1986, 65 (hadrian.?); dies., *Die Mausoleen E-I und Z-Psi* (= id. Vol. XVI,2), Roma 1995 (vgl. Rez. E.M. Moormann, *JAC* 40 (1997) 243-245).
- <sup>145</sup> Avetta 1985, Tav. 17,1.
- <sup>146</sup> Goffredo-Sagonetti 1997, fig. 8.
- <sup>147</sup> Avetta 1985, Tav. 17,2.
- <sup>148</sup> A. Ferrua, *BCom* 70 (1942) 102-103, fig. 7-8.
- <sup>149</sup> Vgl. Avetta 1985, Taf. 26,2 (weibliche Figur mit schildförmigem Kopfputz). Vgl. Aquarelle im Privatbesitz F. Costabile.
- <sup>150</sup> Avetta 1985, Taf. 19,1.
- <sup>151</sup> G. Bendinelli, *Le pitture del columbario di Villa Pamphili*, Roma 1941, Taf. 1-7; Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 40-43 K 10. Das 1984 ausgegrabene kleinere Columbarium benannt nach der Mosaikinschrift Caius Scribonius Menophilus enthält historische Friese und u.a. Pygmäendarstellungen. Den Hinweis auf die augusteisch-tiberische Datierung und die hauptsächlichliche Belegung durch kaiserliche Liberti verdanke ich M.G. Granino; vgl. Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 43-45.
- <sup>152</sup> H. Kammerer-Grothaus, 'Camere sepolcrali de'liberti e liberte di Livia Augusta ed altri Caesari', *MEFRA* 91 (1979) 315-342.

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## Ricerche sulla pittura di Ostia *Status quaestionis e prospettive*<sup>1</sup>

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

Se si vuole ottenere una conoscenza della pittura romana di epoca imperiale posteriore al I secolo d.C., più articolata di quanto non emerga dalle pubblicazioni odierne, la ricerca deve partire da Ostia. Nella stessa Roma il numero dei reperti pittorici risalenti a quell'epoca aumenta continuamente ancora oggi; ogni anno si registrano nuovi ritrovamenti, talvolta si tratta di pitture in gran parte intatte, ma nella maggioranza dei casi il loro stato è frammentario e la loro eterogeneità rende tuttavia piuttosto complesso comporre una visione d'insieme coerente. A Ostia i materiali ivi rinvenuti sono di carattere più omogeneo e, in senso relativo, più copiosi di quelli emersi a Roma. Appare dunque logico acquisire una conoscenza migliore dei materiali di Ostia prima di rivolgere l'attenzione ai reperti pittorici che ha restituito la città capitolina.

In questo contributo verranno presi in considerazione alcuni aspetti relativi alla pittura di Ostia dai primi residui attribuibili al II secolo a.C. fino al IV secolo d.C. Si soffermerà inoltre sulla storia degli studi relativi alle pitture parietali e sullo stato attuale delle ricerche. Verrà proposto un primo tentativo ad una nuova sequenza cronologica di quei materiali, che possa servire come base per le future indagini. Contrariamente al passato, in cui datazioni precise sono state attribuite a quasi tutte le pitture finora ritrovate, gli studi recenti sono molto più scettici a queste attribuzioni d'epoca. Restano aperte molte datazioni 'precise', che però possono aumentarsi nei prossimi decenni con l'aiuto di studi basati su datazioni esterne tramite ad esempio analisi architettoniche ed epigrafiche.

Nella pittura di pareti e soffitti di epoca romana la superficie interessata dalla decorazione coincideva con l'intera parete o l'intero soffitto. Per questo motivo tali decorazioni sono in effetti difficilmente assimilabili a ciò che in genere consideriamo dei 'quadri', che di una parete occupano solo una porzione. Poteva accadere comunque che composizioni a sé stanti, in certa misura paragonabili ai nostri quadri e spesso anche bordati da una cornice, facessero parte del dipinto più

esteso che occupava la parete o il soffitto. Quadri autonomi, appesi o sistemati su cavalletti, sono esistiti sicuramente: le fonti scritte vi fanno ripetutamente cenno. Nulla però si è conservato di tali opere, un vero peccato perché erano probabilmente di qualità molto superiore a quella dei dipinti giunti ai giorni nostri.

La storia della pittura di Ostia che qui segue è dunque per forza di cose una rassegna delle decorazioni di pareti e soffitti e degli eventuali elementi figurativi che ne facevano parte. Prima di concentrare il discorso su Ostia, tuttavia, sarà opportuno fornire una caratterizzazione generale della pittura di epoca romana. Nell'ordine prenderò in esame anzitutto le pareti, poi i soffitti e infine una serie di caratteristiche generali comuni ai dipinti sulle due diverse superfici.

Le pareti appaiono spesso divise in senso orizzontale in zone: da un minimo di due e fino a quattro, sono comunque quasi sempre presenti una zona principale e una zona superiore. In basso, poi, sotto la zona principale, si trova in moltissimi casi, ma non sempre, uno zoccolo e tra zoccolo e zona principale, o sopra quest'ultima, può essere inserita un'altra fascia. Molte volte la suddivisione della parete in più zone richiama una partizione architettonica; i diversi modi secondo cui i pittori hanno strutturato la superficie pittorica hanno consentito di definire veri e propri 'sistemi' nella pittura parietale, basati spesso sull'imitazione di elementi e motivi desunti dall'architettura: lastre marmoree o decorazioni a pannelli paratattici, separati eventualmente da elementi architettonici quali le *aediculae*, strutture composte da colonne che sorreggono una trabeazione e molto simili a un tempio. Più complesse sono quelle che vengono definite facciate da parata, sistemi di cui talvolta faceva parte anche un 'quadro'. Meno frequenti sono le composizioni libere e gli schemi 'iterativi'.

I soffitti, di forma quadrata, poligonale o rotonda, presentano per lo più schemi composti in maniera simmetrica a partire dal centro; nel caso di superfici rettangolari, il sistema consta di un quadrato centrale con due fasce ai lati o di una composizione oblunga. Nel presente articolo si farà

solo un breve cenno a questo tipo di superfici.

La storia della pittura parietale romana può essere raccontata descrivendo le varie mode affermatesi nel tempo riguardo all'impiego di determinati sistemi, alla loro rappresentazione e alla gamma dei colori usati come pure ai modi di inserimento di figure e ornamenti. Forma e posizione, centrale o meno, di eventuali 'quadri' possono a loro volta dare un'indicazione del momento in cui si affaccia sulla scena una certa decorazione. Sempre rilevante è l'iconografia delle scene centrali, dei 'quadri', come pure quella di altri elementi figurativi. Recenti studi riguardanti la pittura parietale, e ciò vale anche per i materiali provenienti da Ostia, dedicano inoltre grande attenzione al contesto originario, se noto, in cui i dipinti erano collocati come anche al loro rapporto con l'architettura circostante; l'obiettivo, ovviamente, è quello di raggiungere una comprensione migliore dell'uso degli ambienti e in definitiva della vita quotidiana nell'antichità. In quest'ambito di studi le decorazioni parietali di epoca romana sono considerate sempre meno prodotti artistici e sempre più, invece, una componente a tutti gli effetti dell'architettura d'interni, alla stessa stregua delle pavimentazioni, e perciò come un riflesso delle scelte e delle volontà dei committenti riguardo al rivestimento degli edifici ma soprattutto della gente comune riguardo al proprio habitat personale. Come avviene a Ostia, dove le pitture non provengono quasi mai da edifici pubblici importanti ma per lo più da complessi termali di piccole dimensioni o da abitazioni, in alcuni casi da piccoli santuari.

Prendendo ora in esame nello specifico i dipinti parietali di Ostia, si noteranno complessivamente tecniche diverse impiegate per la loro realizzazione. Per cominciare, molte pitture presentano uno strato di superficie in stucco fine applicato su un arriccio di malta. Lo stucco fine contiene polvere di calce, in caso di decorazioni preziose perfino polvere di marmo. Su questo strato veniva eseguita la decorazione, per lo più quando la calce era ancora fresca, ma a Ostia non mancano davvero gli esempi di lavori chiaramente eseguiti quando la calce era già in parte o completamente asciutta. In molti casi ciò ha impedito una buona presa e determinato la perdita dell'intero strato superficiale o di grandi porzioni di questo, cosicché oggi non sappiamo con precisione che aspetto avesse la pittura al momento dell'esecuzione.

Un altro metodo di applicazione della pittura è quello che ci è noto anche da Pompei, dove fu impiegato soprattutto per le scritte sui muri

esterni degli edifici: si tratta di una miscela di tempera e latte di calce applicata in uno strato sottile direttamente sul fondo, sui mattoni ad esempio o su uno strato d'intonaco preesistente.<sup>2</sup> Anche in questi casi lo strato superiore non aderiva in maniera adeguata per cui oggi è conservato quasi sempre in stato frammentario. Un occhio allenato tuttavia riconosce a Ostia in tantissimi punti resti di questo tipo di decorazioni.

#### OSTIA E GLI STILI POMPEIANI

Fino a poco tempo fa si riteneva che la storia della pittura parietale a Ostia avesse inizio lì dove terminava quella di Pompei, vale a dire verso la fine del I secolo d.C. o ancora più tardi, nel corso del II secolo. È significativo che Carel Claudius van Essen nel suo quadro cronologico delle decorazioni parietali di Ostia, pubblicato negli anni 1956-1958, cominci la trattazione solo dall'epoca di Adriano senza fare alcun cenno al periodo precedente. Nella prima edizione della sua opera *Roman Ostia* (1960), Russell Meiggs stempera questa tesi osservando a ragione che di edifici anteriori al II secolo d.C., e quindi anche delle loro decorazioni, oggi come oggi rimane poco o nulla. Infatti la maggior parte del materiale superstita in questo campo della decorazione degli edifici data dal II secolo d.C. in poi. Tuttavia, soprattutto negli scavi degli ultimi anni che, a differenza di quanto accadeva molte volte in passato, scendono oltre gli strati corrispondenti all'inizio del II secolo d.C., emergono sempre più spesso resti di affreschi di periodi precedenti.

Sebbene il materiale ostiense di epoca antica sia scarso, nondimeno di tutti e quattro gli stili, o meglio, periodi in cui viene tradizionalmente suddivisa la pittura pompeiana si conservano ancora dei frammenti. La suddivisione dei dipinti pompeiani nei quattro stili, proposta dall'archeologo tedesco August Mau già nel 1882, è tuttora punto di partenza nello studio delle decorazioni pittoriche di pareti e soffitti a Pompei. Tale suddivisione è al tempo stesso parametro per la classificazione di dipinti romani di altri siti. Una suddivisione che, come già detto, individua non tanto degli stili quanto dei periodi, che elaborano in maniera diversa elementi desunti dall'architettura. Alla luce delle analogie con la grande quantità di materiale proveniente da Pompei, possiamo ipotizzare che la storia delle pitture di pareti e soffitti a Ostia prima del II secolo d.C. si sia sviluppata in modo pressoché simile a quella di città come Pompei e la stessa Roma, che a sua volta ha restituito una maggior quantità di materiale. Inoltre è facile



immaginare che, moltiplicandosi gli scavi di strati risalenti a periodi anteriori al II secolo d.C., aumenterà anche il numero di decorazioni parietali databili all'epoca antecedente a quella adrianea.

Quale esempio di frammenti molto antichi si

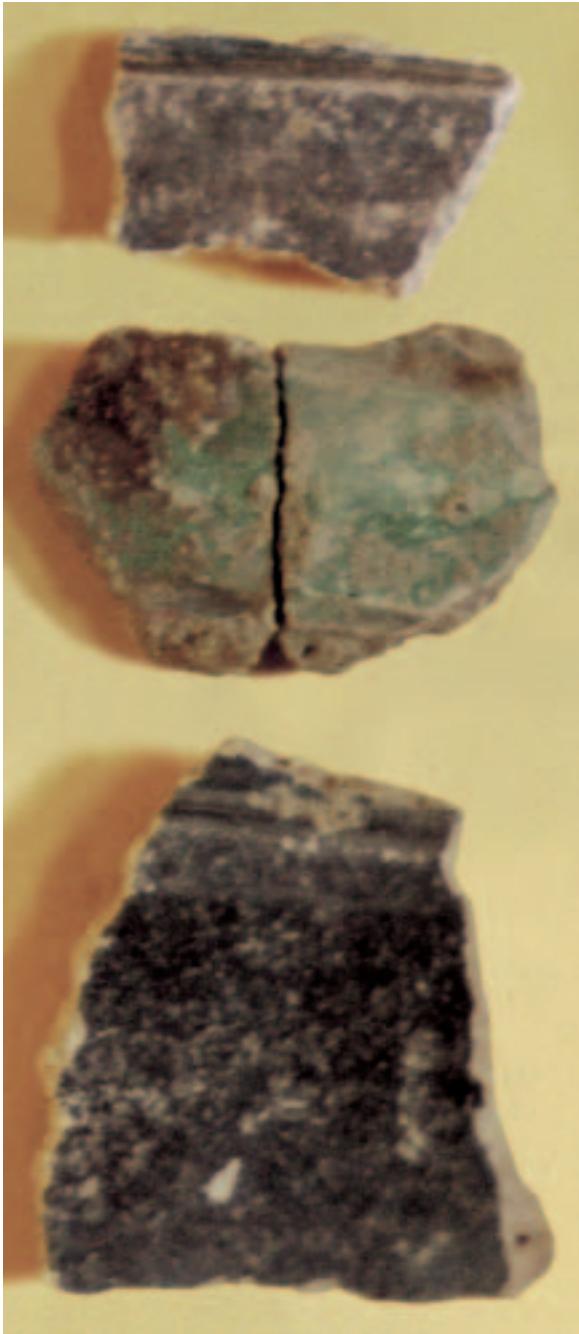


Fig. 1. Frammenti di I Stile, Casa di Giove e Ganimede (I iv 2), Scavi dell'Università di Reading, 1999 (foto: S. Mols).

segnalano quelli rinvenuti recentemente durante gli scavi effettuati dall'Università di Reading nella Casa di Giove e Ganimede (I iv 2; fig. 1). I frammenti in questione presentano lo stucco a rilievo con cui veniva imitato, per lo più in modo realistico, un decoro parietale realizzato con diversi tipi di marmo e che fu tipico dell'apparato ornamentale del periodo che si estende all'incirca dal 200 all'80 a.C., il cosiddetto I Stile pompeiano. Non mancano esempi, sia pure in stato frammentario, di quello che è definito il II Stile pompeiano, dove viene meno il rilievo peculiare del I Stile e le pitture diventano bidimensionali, uno stile che, a motivo del largo impiego di architetture dipinte viene anche indicato come stile architettonico (all'incirca 80-15 a.C.). Lo stesso vale per il III Stile (all'incirca 15 a.C.-45 d.C.), che utilizza elementi ornamentali in abbondanza, trasformando le architetture del periodo precedente in motivi decorativi piani e bidimensionali. Al II Stile sono attribuibili ad esempio i frammenti dipinti con elementi architettonici emersi negli scavi effettuati sotto la *Schola* del Traiano (IV v 15) nel 1998, nel peristilio di una domus repubblicana.<sup>3</sup> Un buon esempio del III Stile lo forniscono invece i frammenti pittorici provenienti dalla *Domus* dei Pesci (IV iii 3).<sup>4</sup> Al passaggio dal III al IV stile sembrano attribuibili frammenti trovati nel *Macellum* (VI v 2), mostrando una modanatura con pantera.<sup>5</sup>

Superfici più estese con pitture in situ sono riferibili invece solo al IV Stile, che a Pompei ovviamente si conclude al momento dell'eruzione del Vesuvio nel 79 d.C., ma che altrove è rimasto di moda ancora per un certo periodo. I dipinti di IV Stile da un lato continuano a ricorrere all'apparato ornamentale del III Stile, mentre dall'altro recuperano quale componente di rilievo gli elementi architettonici. Tali elementi, tuttavia, per le forme spesso fantastiche sono meno riconducibili al reale di quanto non siano gli esemplari del II Stile.

Dal momento che abbiamo una discreta conoscenza del materiale proveniente dalle città vesuviane, in molti casi non riesce difficile datare, almeno in maniera approssimativa, materiali rinvenuti in altri luoghi in Italia; anche se, ovviamente, non mancano varianti, da ricondurre ad esempio a botteghe locali, all'impiego di materiali e tecniche tipici del luogo o a specifiche volontà dei committenti del luogo. Se le differenze sono già tanto vistose quando si confrontano le pitture di Pompei con quelle venute alla luce nella vicina Ercolano, è necessaria la massima cautela nel considerare materiali provenienti da Ostia, che è città situata pur sempre 200 chilometri più a nord. Diverse pitture ostiensi sono riferibili per analo-



Fig. 2. Terme dei Sette Sapienti (III x 2), frammento di pittura in situ durante gli scavi negli anni 1930 (foto Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia, neg. no. 1892).

gie stilistiche al IV Stile, nella maggior parte dei casi però risulta impossibile una loro più precisa collocazione, anche perché si sa ancora molto poco della storia del IV Stile dopo l'anno 79 d.C. A tutt'oggi manca per questo periodo materiale di confronto, databile, proveniente appunto da Ostia e finché non si disporrà di materiale del genere sarà difficile, se non impossibile, eseguire datazioni certe su basi stilistiche di nuovi reperti pittorici.

In questa sede mi limiterò a considerare due esempi pittorici realizzati senz'ombra di dubbio nel periodo del IV Stile, e che però secondo gli studiosi è arduo collocare in maniera più precisa. La prima pittura si trova nell'*Insula V II 2* e presenta una semplicissima decorazione a pannelli, con i riquadri di colore rosso che spiccano su un fondo bianco.<sup>6</sup> I pannelli appaiono delimitati da 'bordi di tappeto', un elemento tipico del IV Stile. Il secondo esempio è invece un frammento rin-

venuto poco tempo fa nel corso di scavi condotti dall'Istituto Archeologico Germanico a Roma, in quella che è stata un tempo verosimilmente una *domus* al margine sud della città, nella Regione V.<sup>7</sup> Diverse caratteristiche segnalano che si tratta di un frammento di una decorazione del IV Stile, ma non si conoscono confronti diretti provenienti da altre località, nemmeno da Pompei. Oltre all'ipotesi che si tratti di un'espressione locale, lontana dagli esemplari pompeiani, è anche possibile che questo sia un frammento degli ultimi decenni del I o dell'inizio del II secolo d.C., un periodo per il quale sono finora pochissimi, se non proprio nessuno, gli esempi noti databili. Frammenti simili a questo sono emersi nei recenti scavi condotti, per conto della Soprintendenza, da Alfredo Marinucci e dall'Università di Augsburg (Valentin Kockel) nell'area del cosiddetto *Macellum* (VI v, 2) e nelle sue immediate vicinanze.<sup>8</sup>

Quale esempio di scene figurate risalenti al regno degli imperatori Flavii o di Traiano, si cita una pittura a figure grandi nelle Terme dei Sette Sapienti (III x 2), rinvenuta durante gli scavi della seconda metà degli anni '30 e oggi conservata solo in parte. La fotografia scattata al momento del rinvenimento mostra un contadino che conduce due buoi e una o più persone in una piccola barca (fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> Anche in questo caso è manifesto il legame con gli esempi pompeiani, non è possibile però assegnare una datazione precisa sulla base di caratteristiche stilistiche. Allo stesso periodo sono riferibili anche certi pannelli con decorazioni venuti alla luce nella Casa di Diana, che vengono studiate da Stella Falzone e Angelo Pellegrino.<sup>10</sup> Come già accennato in precedenza, la maggior parte delle pitture ostiensi di cui oggi si conservi traccia è più tarda rispetto agli esempi pompeiani. Mentre si sono conservati resti di maggiore estensione solo a partire dal regno di Adriano, allorché, sulla scia dell'intensa attività edilizia nella città, vengono decorate anche moltissime pareti di case private. A paragone di quanto sappiamo su Pompei, le nostre conoscenze relative alle decorazioni romane su soffitti e pareti del II e III secolo d.C. sono veramente limitate.<sup>11</sup> Passiamo ora a considerare tale materiale e il modo in cui è stato trattato dalla letteratura specialistica.

#### LA PITTURA DI OSTIA NEL II E ALL'INIZIO DEL III SECOLO: RASSEGNA DI STUDI

Gli esempi pompeiani e romani di IV Stile mostrano una notevole varietà quanto a schemi, uso del colore, motivi figurativi e ornamenti. Tale eterogeneità rimane in fondo caratteristica per le

pitture del II secolo e perfino di parte del III secolo d.C. Proprio la mancanza di impulsi realmente innovativi nei dipinti posteriori al I secolo ha determinato spesso una scarsa considerazione delle pitture postpompeiane. Ne è stato responsabile, e in non piccola misura, proprio August Mau, del quale rinveniamo in più di un passo il giudizio negativo.<sup>12</sup> Non è il caso comunque di insistere troppo sulla bellezza delle pitture pompeiane di contro alla qualità di gran lunga minore della produzione pittorica posteriore. Nemmeno Pompei ha mai avuto un Apelle! Sarà quindi meglio rivolgersi alla storia che le pitture di ogni tempo e luogo raccontano riguardo agli uomini, ai loro modi di vivere e di arredare le loro dimore. Sotto quest'aspetto, infatti, non esistono differenze e ogni pittura può dare un contributo alla nostra conoscenza dell'antichità. Il giudizio di valore di noi moderni non deve avere alcun peso in questo discorso. A questo proposito Guido Calza (1920-1921, 407) ha già paragonato in maniera calzante i giudizi moderni sulla pittura ostiense agli strali di Vitruvio contro le opere pittoriche del suo tempo (il tardo II Stile).

A partire dalla fine del I secolo d.C. la composizione delle pitture rivela sempre una scelta interna a quello che era il repertorio tradizionale dei quattro stili pompeiani.<sup>13</sup> Tuttavia esistono dei centri di gravità nell'ambito di periodi chiaramente delimitabili, per cui è possibile parlare di ecletticismo intenzionale e tali pitture devono essere considerate, infatti, come prodotti del loro tempo, anche se attingono liberamente e in abbondanza al repertorio dei quattro stili pompeiani.<sup>14</sup> Volendo caratterizzare in breve la pittura ostiense di II e III secolo possiamo usare le parole di Bianca Maria Felletti Maj (1966-1968, 38), che ravvisa 'la tendenza a maggior semplicità'; tendenza che riguarda soprattutto gli elementi architettonici dipinti e che ha come punto d'arrivo la loro totale astrazione dal reale, con un apparato decorativo che è ormai puro ornamento. Roger Ling (1991, 175) attribuisce questa tendenza allo spostamento dell'interesse dalle pareti al pavimento di un ambiente, ma la questione è a nostro avviso leggermente più complessa. Sarebbe azzardato parlare per la pittura ostiense di II e III secolo di un altro 'stile', successivo al IV.<sup>15</sup> Il tratto tipico della pittura di quel periodo è il suo carattere eclettico, che è esattamente ciò che contrasta la formazione di un nuovo stile. Tendenze locali come l'uso frequente di certi colori o forme architettoniche nelle pitture, come ad esempio 'stile giallo-rosso', basate nel passato su osservazioni stilistiche di varie pitture attribuite a una

certa epoca, danno troppo l'impressione che si tratta di uno stile vero e oltrepassano l'idea di un ecletticismo intenzionale nella pittura fino alla fine del II e l'inizio del III secolo.

Per individuare la successione di cui si è detto, occorre stabilire con la massima precisione possibile il momento in cui determinate pitture sono state eseguite. Purtroppo solo in minima misura possiamo avvalerci del confronto con esempi da altri luoghi: quello di Ostia infatti è forse il patrimonio pittorico più ricco di cui disponiamo per quest'epoca proveniente da un unico luogo. Per il II e il III secolo il numero degli esemplari è perfino superiore a quello che ha restituito Roma; tanto più importante ci apparirà allora il materiale di Ostia. A tutt'oggi, però, solo una piccola parte di tale materiale è stata oggetto di monografie.<sup>16</sup> E nelle sintesi finora elaborate sulle decorazioni parietali ostiensi, e più in generale sulla pittura posteriore all'eruzione del Vesuvio del 79 d.C., non sfugge il fatto che gli stessi dipinti ricevono spesso datazioni divergenti;<sup>17</sup> questo perché nella maggior parte dei casi le valutazioni si basano su un'analisi puramente stilistica. Un limite che ha segnato pesantemente tra l'altro la prima rassegna cronologica riguardante i dipinti di Ostia, apparsa dopo la grande campagna di scavo degli anni '30, di cui fu autore Van Essen. Ciò nondimeno, le datazioni di questo studioso sono tuttora utilizzate nella letteratura archeologica, e lo stesso accade per le datazioni che Maurizio Borda formulò nella sua opera *La pittura romana* (1958), basandosi in prevalenza su più antiche datazioni di natura stilistica, spesso dubbie. Entrambi gli autori sono stati a ragione oggetto di critiche, avanzate tra gli altri da Harald Mielsch (1981 e recentemente 2001), che in una serie di occasioni si è espresso in termini fin troppo cauti. Il rischio delle datazioni fondate su considerazioni stilistiche emerge in maniera eloquente dal notevole divario esistente tra le datazioni proposte dagli studiosi per una stessa opera. E per tutti valga il caso dei famosi Aurighi nell'omonimo Caseggiato (III x 1; fig. 3): questi hanno ricevuto datazioni che si muovono tra il 160 (Mielsch 1981, 226) e il 260-280 d.C. (Dorigo 1971, 113).

Oltre all'analisi stilistica, sono stati adottati criteri di datazione desunti dall'architettura, o meglio la successione delle fasi edilizie e le tecniche costruttive usate, osservando tra l'altro l'aspetto delle opere murarie e i bolli laterizi. Un procedimento non sempre valido agli inizi, come risulta dall'impiego errato da parte di Fritz Wirth dello spessore dei mattoni quale criterio di datazione dei dipinti. D'altro canto, come base della sua





Fig. 3. Caseggiato degli Aurighi (III x 1), corridoio degli Aurighi, pittura con aurighi (foto S. Mols).

classificazione, lo studioso presenta per ogni periodo partendo dalle opere scultoree uno studio del gusto dell'epoca, lo 'Zeitgeist', come è il caso del neoclassicismo per l'età adrianea. In tal modo egli compone un quadro dell'arte del periodo, inserendovi poi la pittura a suo avviso riferibile a tale periodo. Con questi ingredienti, le datazioni dei muri e lo 'Zeitgeist', Wirth tentò di formulare delle sintesi; senza riuscirvi, però, dato che, come oggi sappiamo, definire lo 'Zeitgeist' quando manca una base di dati assoluti è impresa davvero impossibile. Lo stesso Van Essen si serve dei bolli laterizi per datare i dipinti, sebbene non in maniera coerente e dunque molte delle datazioni proposte sono troppo tarde, un errore che interessa in particolare quelle relative al periodo post-severiano. L'idea di partire dallo studio dell'architettura, comunque, è molto interessante.

Dopo questi primi tentativi, si è passati all'analisi dell'apparato decorativo di alcuni edifici autonomi ed è apparsa una serie di lavori monografici o articoli più estesi, tra i quali occorre segnalare anzitutto i tre volumi della collana *Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia* dove sono pubblicate le decorazioni pittoriche delle Case delle

Volte Dipinte, delle Pareti Gialle (entrambe a cura di Bianca Maria Felletti-Maj), delle Muse (Bianca Maria Felletti-Maj e Paolo Moreno) e quelle della *Caupona* del Pavone (Carlo Gasparri). Il quinto volume della collana, scritta da Paola Baccini Leotardi, non è stata dedicata a un unico complesso, ma a un tipo di pittura con decorazioni di giardino in edifici termali a Ostia. Nella sua rassegna del 1981, Mielsch accetta la maggior parte delle datazioni proposte da questi studiosi, salvo alcune riserve.

Nel suo lavoro *The Decoration of Walls, Ceilings, and Floors in Italy in the Second and Third Centuries A.D.* (1981), Hetty Joyce ha formulato una tipologia dettagliata dei vari sistemi individuati nella pittura postpompeiana, inserendovi anche numerose pitture ostiensi. Molte delle sue datazioni sembrano leggermente tarde, ma lo schema fornito è di grande utilità per delineare un quadro della pittura nel II e III secolo d.C. sia a Ostia sia altrove in Italia.<sup>18</sup> Di notevole interesse infine è un gruppo di studi degli ultimi anni che prendono in esame un determinato tipo di decorazioni pittoriche (Claudia Liedtke 1995: pareti con grifoni) oppure uno o più complessi edilizi (Falzone/

Fig. 4. Casa di Giove e Ganimede (I iv 2), corridoio, parete sud, iscrizione (disegno T. Jenkins/W. Loerts).

Pellegrino 1996 - si analizza infatti il Caseggiato del Temistocle, in particolare 203-205; Falzone 1999: Casa di Diana; Mols 1996, 1997 e 1999 e 1999a: Caseggiato del Serapide e Caseggiato degli Aurighi).

Rassegne recenti che considerano lo sviluppo della pittura romana postpompeiana e insieme si soffermano anche sul materiale ostiense sono opera di Mielsch (1981, in particolare 213-218 per Ostia), Ling (1991), Eric Moormann (1998) e recentemente di nuovo Mielsch (2001, passim). Il capitolo nel libro su Ostia di Raymond Chevallier (1986, 214-220) è soprattutto una sintesi di scritti precedenti sull'argomento. Un certo numero di dipinti, infine, è oggetto di analisi nel lavoro di John Clarke (1991, 266-361), che si concentra in particolare sull'iconografia delle raffigurazioni nelle diverse stanze nonché sul rapporto pavimenti-pareti. Lo studioso prende in considerazione soprattutto degli insiemi e promuove un approccio di tipo contestuale. Va notato però che egli utilizza in parte datazioni errate, come si può osservare dai studi recenti (v. infra).

#### VERSO UNA NUOVA CRONOLOGIA DELLE PITTURE DI OSTIA

Proseguire per la strada tracciata dalle monografie che esaminano nel dettaglio gli apparati pittorici di singoli complessi edilizi, costituisce il modo migliore per raggiungere una comprensione vera del fenomeno pittura ostiense. Primi passi in tale direzione sono lo studio di Stella Falzone (1999) sui dipinti della Casa di Diana e l'analisi del sottoscritto relativa alle decorazioni pittoriche dell'*Insula* III x, che comprende i Caseggiati degli Aurighi e del Serapide e le Terme dei Sette Sapianti.<sup>19</sup> Tali ricerche coniugano la cronologia relativa delle decorazioni parietali con un'analisi architettonica, in modo da far emergere con maggiore chiarezza la successione dei vari sistemi decorativi, ricorrendo a volte a confronti stilistici con materiale datato con certezza di altra

provenienza.<sup>20</sup> Esse tengono inoltre conto di un altro aspetto importante, che è la valutazione della qualità dello stucco e dei dipinti.<sup>21</sup>

Punto di partenza dell'analisi architettonica sono i bolli laterizi che possono fornire un *terminus post quem*.<sup>22</sup> I graffiti, dal canto loro, recano talvolta l'indicazione di un certo anno e segnalano in tal modo un *terminus ante quem*. Citiamo quale esempio un graffito nel Caseggiato degli Aurighi con i nomi dei consoli dell'anno 150 d.C. e un altro nella Casa di Giove e Ganimede, dove si legge il mese *Commodus*, denominazione che sappiamo essere stata in uso solamente nel 190 e nel 191 d.C. (fig. 4). A volte anche le iscrizioni collegate in qualche modo alla costruzione o ristrutturazione di un edificio offrono un *terminus post quem*, si pensi ad esempio alle *fistulae aquariae*, e a volte perfino un *terminus ante quem*, come nel caso di un bollo laterizio in un muro appoggiato a un muro preesistente che conserva ancora oggi la pittura *in situ*. Nel migliore dei casi la combinazione di questo tipo di dati esterni può fornire un limite verso l'alto e verso il basso per la datazione di una pittura. Il passo successivo potrebbe essere quello di usare tali datazioni quale riferimento per datare decorazioni simili esistenti in altri luoghi. Per questo tipo di confronti, eseguiti sulla base di criteri formali interni, si impone tuttavia una certa cautela. D'altra parte questo modo di procedere consente forse una migliore comprensione del fenomeno dei committenti, delle modalità di lavoro delle botteghe e del rapporto tra decorazione e uso degli ambienti.

Nella seguente sintesi sulla pittura ostiense del II e III secolo si è optato per la presentazione di alcuni esempi caratteristici. Le attuali conoscenze dei materiali e l'incertezza riguardo all'esatta datazione di numerosi esemplari, non consentono ancora di comprendere tutti i sistemi esistenti in ogni singolo periodo. Come detto in precedenza, a tal fine sono necessari altri studi dettagliati di complessi edilizi autonomi.

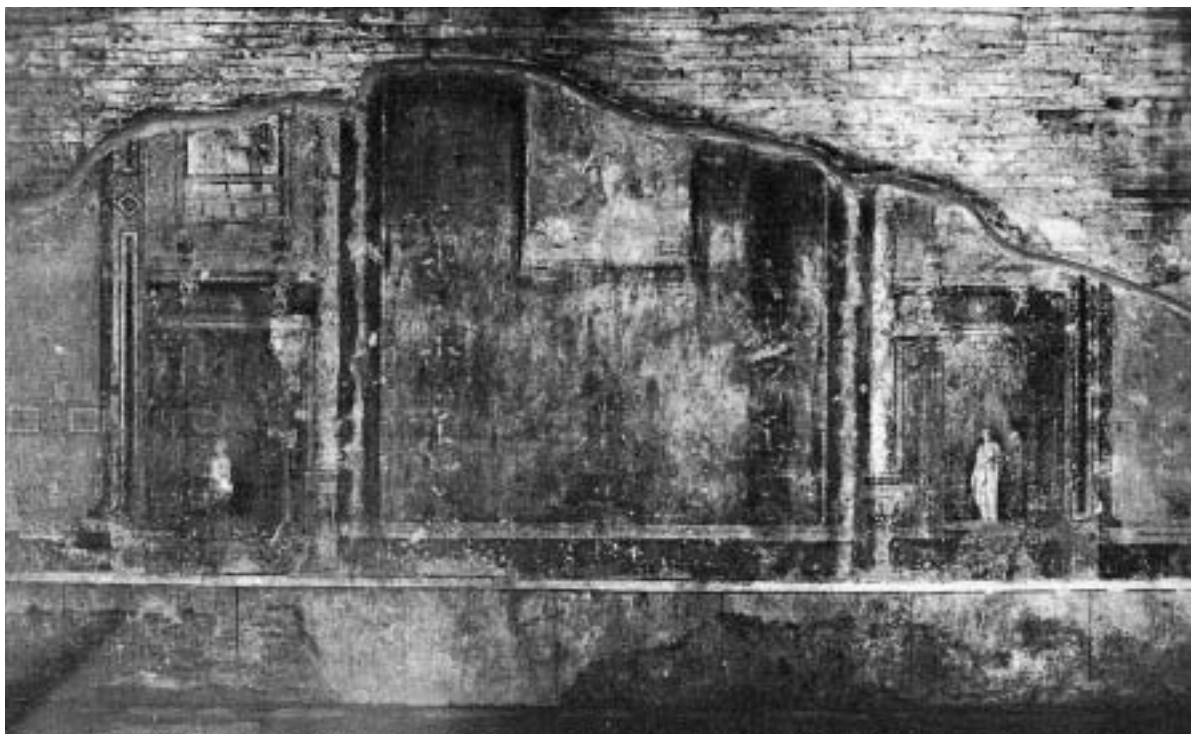


Fig. 5. Casa delle Muse (III IX 22), ambiente X, parete sud (foto Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia).



Fig. 6. Casa delle Muse (III IX 22), ambiente IX, parete est (foto S. Mols).

#### IL PERIODO ADRIANEO

I dipinti più antichi di cui Ostia conservi più di un esempio *in situ* negli edifici conservati risalgono al regno di Adriano, come quelli che si trovano nella Casa delle Muse (III IX 22). Due sono gli schemi dominanti, su fondo colorato e su fondo bianco; entrambi vengono illustrati qui con un esempio. Nell'ambiente X (fig. 5) lo schema colorato ricorda molto il IV Stile: al di sopra di uno zoccolo in prevalenza rosso, la zona principale presenta un pannello centrale rosso, nel quale è iscritto un 'quadro', e poi dei pannelli laterali gialli, separati da un motivo di porte e finestre aperte, in parte con scorci dove si affacciano figure umane. La decorazione appare eseguita con grande ricchezza di dettagli, in particolare con colonne, candelabri e fasce ornamentali elaborate.<sup>23</sup>

Nella stanza IX la decorazione della zona principale e di quella superiore si compone di pannelli su fondo bianco, separati da lesene gialle sormontate da candelabri (fig. 6). Dello zoccolo si conserva soltanto il margine superiore di colore nero. Nei pannelli della zona principale si librano





Fig. 7. Terme dei Sette Sapianti (III x 2), pittura con Sapianti, pareti sud e ovest (foto S. Mols).

delle figure, tutte legate alla cerchia del dio Dioniso, affiancate da elementi architettonici intorno ai quali sono disposte finissime ghirlande. Nella parete qui raffigurata vi sono Dioniso in posizione centrale e una Menade in ciascun pannello laterale. Nel riquadro centrale della zona superiore, un oggetto a forma di mandorla, in verticale, racchiude una figura alata femminile che campeggia su uno sfondo rosso; l'insieme è incorniciato da sottili candelabri e pannelli rettangolari in verticale. Al centro dei pannelli laterali compare un *pinax* e, al di sopra, una figura stante. Anche in questa zona l'ornamentazione è estremamente ricca e si compone tra l'altro di finissime ghirlande. Questo genere di decorazioni mostra notevoli affinità con i dipinti di IV Stile su fondo bianco che ci sono noti da Pompei.<sup>24</sup> Si osservi comunque che nei dipinti ostiensi l'illusionismo è meno accentuato rispetto agli esempi del I secolo; inoltre la minuziosità della resa genera una certa freddezza mista a neutralità mentre l'uso di tanti colori altera l'equilibrio dell'insieme. A ragione tali dipinti sono stati interpretati come prodotti inseriti nella tradizione del IV Stile con l'aggiunta di elementi stilistici del periodo augu-

steo.<sup>25</sup> Sia gli uni che gli altri mostrano la stessa raffinatezza dell'apparato ornamentale e la minuziosità della pittura che caratterizza anche diversi esempi della Villa Adriana a Tivoli pure se qui il grado di compiutezza è molto maggiore trattandosi di decorazioni di una villa imperiale: valgano per tutte le pitture nel criptoportico del cosiddetto *prytaneion* o quelle nelle Terme piccole.<sup>26</sup>

Del tutto diversa la situazione nel caso delle composizioni libere della stessa epoca, come ad esempio le raffigurazioni di quattro dei sette sapienti dell'antichità che ornano le pareti di un piccolo ambiente nelle Terme dei Sette Sapianti (III x 2; fig. 7) o quelle dei pesci che un tempo abbellivano le pareti del vicino bagno e delle quali oggi non rimane più molto.<sup>27</sup> Anche di quest'ultimo tipo, comunque, sono noti dei precursori tra l'altro a Pompei.

Già dagli esempi citati emerge che un certo numero di pitture ostiensi del periodo adrianeo mostra ancora analogie così consistenti con le pitture pompeiane e romane del IV Stile da rendere forse necessario lo spostamento della fine del IV Stile all'epoca di Adriano.



*Fig. 8. Caseggiato degli Aurighi (III x 1), ambiente 28, parete sud, con nel centro quadro con cavaliere e cervo (foto S. Mols).*



*Fig. 9. Caseggiato degli Aurighi (III x 1), ambiente 28, parete sud, quadro centrale con cavaliere e cervo (particolare di fig. 8; foto S. Mols).*





*Fig. 10. Casa di Giove e Ganimede (I IV 2), tablinum (ambiente VII), parete di fondo (est) con nel centro quadro con Giove e Ganimede e Leda con il cigno (foto S. Mols).*



*Fig. 11. Casa di Giove e Ganimede (I IV 2), tablinum (ambiente VII), parete di fondo (est); quadro con Giove e Ganimede e Leda con il cigno (particolare di fig. 10; foto S. Mols).*



Gli schemi che caratterizzano il resto del II secolo e senza dubbio anche gli inizi del III secolo sono per molti aspetti simili a quelli dell'epoca precedente; mancano nuovi impulsi, il che è uno dei motivi che non consente di parlare di un V Stile.<sup>28</sup> Per ogni periodo comunque sono diverse le scelte compiute nell'ambito del repertorio di schemi e motivi che in gran parte appare fissato già prima della fine del I secolo d.C. A fianco a questo carattere eclettico, e malgrado questo, esiste comunque un uso del colore legato al preciso momento storico come anche vere e proprie mode nei modi di dipingere. Generale invece è la tendenza a una sempre crescente semplificazione e stilizzazione dei sistemi, dove il legame con il modello architettonico diviene sempre più labile, anche se nella sostanza è in fondo sempre presente. Probabilmente a questo punto l'architettura non fu più considerata come tale da molti pittori e nemmeno dall'osservatore contemporaneo. Forse si potrebbe definirlo un processo di astrazione, osservabile in questo periodo anche in altre forme dell'artigianato artistico romano. Per tutto il II secolo, sicuramente, e ancora agli inizi del III secolo d.C. continua ad esistere inoltre la differenza tra pareti policrome e pareti dove predominano i pannelli bianchi.

Molto si discute riguardo alle linee 'storte' e alle notevoli imprecisioni che è dato osservare in molte delle pitture eseguite a partire dal periodo antoniniano. Secondo alcuni autori si tratta di effetti desiderati.<sup>29</sup> Russel Meiggs (1973, 438), invece, ritiene il fenomeno da imputarsi piuttosto alla grande velocità di esecuzione dei dipinti, ma questo non spiega la combinazione di linee di pannelli storte con dettagli molto fini e elaborati. Più probabile è che le linee dei pannelli e i dettagli siano stati eseguiti da mani diverse, il che potrebbe darci un'idea della divisione del lavoro entro le botteghe ostiensi di quell'epoca. Quello che interessava alla fine era l'effetto d'insieme e non tanto il particolare.

Nelle pitture migliori e di maggior pregio del periodo antoniniano si rivela inizialmente una tendenza alla semplificazione: l'immagine si fa più tranquilla rispetto al passato.<sup>30</sup> Diminuiscono gli scorci mentre architetture ed eventuali figure appaiono davanti a pareti prive di aperture. Negli esempi policromi i colori sono in generale piuttosto intensi e scuri, con rosso, giallo-giallo oca come sfondo dominante per le campiture; per le cornici e le superfici di dimensioni minori vengono usati anche altri colori. Un buon esempio di questa

evoluzione è la stanza delle Muse nella Casa delle Muse (III IX 22), che in passato ha ricevuto una datazione troppo alta, corretta già da Mielsch.<sup>31</sup>

Vediamo inoltre schemi composti da campi bianchi, e a volte gialli, divisi da larghe fasce scure, talvolta con un'ornamentazione piuttosto ricca che ricorda ancora le pareti a fondo bianco di epoca adrianea, rispetto alla quale, però, appare molto più 'sciatta' forse a causa di un'esecuzione affrettata. Si guardi ad esempio alla decorazione sulla parete sud della stanza 28 nel Caseggiato degli Aurighi (III x 1; fig. 8), che hanno una datazione intorno al 150 d.C., basata sull'iscrizione con i nomi dei consoli di quell'anno menzionata sopra.<sup>32</sup> Il netto confronto stilistico delle pitture a pannelli bianchi con natura morta nel centro in diverse camere del Mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro (I III 5) indicano la stessa bottega e una datazione simile.<sup>33</sup>

Con il passare del tempo la composizione torna ad essere movimentata, poiché i pannelli delle decorazioni non seguono più la tradizionale ripartizione in tre zone sovrapposte, ma si presentano di grandezze diverse e disseminati sulla parete secondo motivi all'apparenza complessi, come avviene nella sala principale detto *tablinum* della Casa di Giove e Ganimede (I IV 2; fig. 10). Qui ai colori principali giallo e rosso come colori dei fondi dei pannelli si aggiungono anche il bruno e il nero e l'insieme dà l'idea di una coperta a patchwork. Nella maggior parte dei casi, comunque, i sistemi si mantengono simmetrici. Decorazioni simili si trovano nei vani più grandi delle due altre case della stessa *insula*, la Casa di Bacco Fanciullo (I IV 3) e la Casa dei Dipinti (I IV 4), anche se la loro conservazione è inferiore.

All'incirca 150 d.C. si può anche datare le pitture delle Case a Giardino e la Casa delle Ierodule che mostrano delle somiglianze vistose, anche se appartengono a case o appartamenti diversi.<sup>34</sup>

Si noti che a partire dal periodo antoniniano diventano molto rari i veri e propri 'quadri' al centro delle decorazioni a pannelli: la scena detta 'con Giove e Ganimede' nella casa omonima è uno dei pochi esempi oggi esistenti (fig. 11). Il 'quadro' assomiglia molto ad una finestra incorniciata da una sorta di quinta architettonica sfuggente, incapace ormai di creare l'effetto di profondità. Il nome della scena non rende giustizia al contenuto, perché il quadro mostra anche un'altra storia d'amore di Giove, cioè quella di Leda e il cigno. La combinazione di due scene mitologiche in un solo quadro è rarissima nella pittura romana.<sup>35</sup> Esistono in questo periodo anche quadretti e nature morte ma le loro cornici



Fig. 12. Casa delle Muse (III IX 22), stanza delle Muse, parete sud (foto Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia).



Fig. 13. Casa di Giove e Ganimede (I IV 2), tablinum (ambiente VII), parete nord, particolare (foto S. Mols).

appaiono molte volte eseguite solo a metà, come nel caso del cavaliere e del cervo nella stanza 28 del Caseggiato degli Aurighi (III x 1; fig. 9). E poi, ancora nei pannelli, soprattutto figure a sé stanti che sembrano quasi sospese nell'aria. Un importante cambiamento da segnalare è che tali figure non si trovano quasi mai al centro del pannello, ma sempre poco sopra o poco sotto a questo, come nella stanza delle Muse nella Casa delle Muse (III IX 22; fig. 12). A volte oltrepassano perfino la cornice del pannello, come è il caso con alcune figure nel cosiddetto *tablinum* della Casa di Giove e Ganimede (fig. 13).

Accanto agli esempi più elaborati non mancano decorazioni più semplici, concepite originariamente per gli ambienti secondari di stanze attribuibili al IV Stile. In questo tipo di pitture la tavolozza è spesso formata dai soli colori rosso, giallo e verde entro pannelli su fondo bianco.<sup>36</sup> Le scene figurate dei pannelli sono alquanto semplici e si compongono in particolare di animali quali aquile, rondini, delfini e aragoste, animali fantastici come i grifoni, le maschere teatrali e a volte anche stoviglie, appese ad una corda. Di questo tipo di decorazioni si è occupata Claudia Liedtke.<sup>37</sup> Negli ultimi decenni del II secolo, a causa della sempre crescente stilizzazione di tali decorazioni



*Fig. 14. Caseggiato delle Trifore (III III 1), pittura in stile lineare (foto S. Mols).*



*Fig. 15. Caupona del Pavone (IV II 6), ambiente XIV, parete nord (foto S. Mols).*





Fig. 16. Casa di Giove e Ganimede (I iv 2), ambiente IX/33, parete ovest (foto S. Mols).



Fig. 17. Insula dell'Aquila (IV v 8), ambiente 6, parete est (foto S. Mols).

si attenua gradualmente il legame con i relativi modelli e si affermano i cosiddetti sistemi lineari che alla fine costituiranno la decorazione parietale per eccellenza. Per la prima volta dopo quasi un secolo si potrebbe parlare di nuovo di un vero 'stile', per la sua differenza fondamentale dagli esempi del periodo precedente e per il fatto che il tipo di decorazioni non si limita a solo Ostia. Si parla giustamente di 'stile lineare', nota anche come stile catacombale, tanto popolare nel III e agli inizi del IV secolo. È uno stile comunque che è dato incontrare non solo nelle catacombe. A Ostia lo troviamo ad esempio nell'Insula delle Trifore (III iii 1; fig. 14), in una forma molto vicina agli esempi romani della casa sotto S. Giovanni in Laterano,<sup>38</sup> e in forma più astratta nell'ambiente XIV della *Caupona* del Pavone (IV ii 6; fig. 15). Fabrizio Bisconti (1998, 36) nota 'un progressivo impoverimento delle strutture portanti del sistema architettonico, tanto che le fantastiche scenografie teatrali, tanto care al decoro delle case di età neroniana e flavia, si riducono ad aerei e sottili padiglioni, che richiamano, per invenzione e fantasia, il cosiddetto IV Stile pompeiano, ma solo come flebile e lontana memoria.'

Tra questi due tipi di decorazioni vi è quella con le pareti monocrome gialle ed elementi architettonici piuttosto appiattiti in prevalenza di colore



*Fig. 18. Casa delle Pareti Gialle (III IX 12), ambiente V, parete sud (foto M. Sustronk).*



*Fig. 19. Caupona del Pavone (IV II 6), ambiente IX, parete sud (b) (foto S. Mols).*





Fig. 20. Terme dei Sette Sapienti (III x 2), ambiente 28-29, pittura con zoccolo con motivi di giardino (foto S. Mols).

bruno e rosso, come avviene nell'ambiente IX o 33 della Casa di Giove e Ganimede (I iv 2; fig. 16).

Completamente estranea ai sistemi finora illustrati è invece una decorazione nell'Insula o Domus dell'Aquila (IV v 8) con un disegno vistosamente ripetitivo al di sopra di uno zoccolo in finto marmo (fig. 17): cerchi di colore rosso, verde e grigio-celeste che si intersecano tra loro. Il dipinto costituisce per Ostia e per il tardo impero senz'altro un caso eccezionale, che si inserisce tuttavia in una precisa tradizione. Uno studio su questo genere di decorazioni è in corso di preparazione ad opera di Lara Laken.<sup>39</sup>

Risalgono alla prima età severiana varie pareti della Casa delle Pareti Gialle (III ix 12), ornate dai campi rossi, gialli e verdi alternati di una decorazione a pannelli (fig. 18). Oltre alle decorazioni descritte, in epoca severiana rifioriscono schemi tradizionali che nella zona principale presentano una *aedicula* con al centro una figura che si libra nell'aria oppure facciate da parata. Fa ritorno l'illusione spaziale e la gamma dei colori si arricchisce nuovamente, anche se è netta la preferenza per le tinte scure. Sono verosimilmente dei primi decenni del III secolo i dipinti della *Caupona* del Pavone (IV ii 6), dove, al di sopra di uno zoccolo basso con imitazione di un unico tipo di marmo, la zona principale e quella superiore appaiono ripartite in riquadri che non sono quasi mai allineati e tanto meno simmetrici tra loro. Tali campi sono in prevalenza a fondo colorato, ma non mancano combinazioni di fondi colorati e fondi bianchi, aventi per modello due sistemi di età antoniniana. Un esempio significativo è costituito dalla parete sud dell'ambiente IX (fig. 19). Zone principali del tipo appena descritto possono trovarsi anche al di sopra di zoccoli sorprendentemente alti, anche fino a due metri, dove su un fondo spesso rosso bruno sono dipinti rozza-

mente piante e mobili da giardino, come è il caso nelle Terme dei Sette Sapienti (III x 2; fig. 20).<sup>40</sup>

Oltre ai sistemi qui citati vi sono alcuni esempi di composizioni libere risalenti a questo periodo, come i dipinti di Venere Anadiomene e Venere Marina nelle Terme dei Sette Sapienti (III x 2;





Fig. 21. Terme dei Sette Sapienti (III x 2), frigidarium 26, parete ovest, pittura con Venere Anadiomene (foto S. Mols).



Fig. 22. Terme dei Sette Sapienti (III x 2), frigidarium 26, parete sud, pittura con Venere Marina (foto S. Mols).



*Fig. 23. Terme del Faro (IV n 1), frigidarium, parete est, pittura con Nereide (foto S. Mols).*



*Fig. 24. Casa delle Volte Dipinte (III v 1), ambiente V, parete ovest, scena erotica (foto S. Mols).*



figg. 21 e 22) e le pitture paragonabili nelle Terme del Faro (IV II 1; fig. 23). Le decorazioni del Sacello del Silvano (I III 1), che presentano varie modifiche eseguite con latte di calce, vengono datate all'anno 215 o più tardi.<sup>41</sup> Per la loro datazione è importante che le pitture nelle Terme dei Sette Sapienti sono posteriori a quelle con zoccoli alti con motivi di giardino e datano al 210 o poco più tardi.<sup>42</sup>

Di questo periodo sono anche due scene erotiche della Casa delle Volte Dipinte (III v 1), che richiamano le decorazioni pompeiane (fig. 24). Clarke vede questi quadri erotici come segni di lusso.<sup>43</sup>

#### DECORAZIONI PARIETALI DOPO IL PERIODO SEVERIANO

Sugli sviluppi della pittura ostiense nel III secolo dopo il periodo severiano è arduo pronunciarsi data la carenza di esempi ben databili. Una carenza che molto probabilmente è da imputare alla tecnica impiegata: infatti le decorazioni venivano spesso eseguite su latte di calce, che oggi si presenta in cattivo stato di conservazione, come nel caso sopra citato del Sacello del Silvano. Meiggs (1973, 444) reputa l'uso del latte di calce 'a typical mark of the third century decline in living standards of the middle classes', il che, a causa della mancanza di materiale pertinente, mi pare un'osservazione alquanto osata. Per quanto riguarda il tipo di sistema, è probabile che numerose pitture si attenessero ai sistemi lineari cui si è già accennato. La datazione proposta da Van Essen per le decorazioni di questo tipo nel Caseggiato delle Trifore (III III 1), al regno di Gallieno, è certamente troppo tarda, come è già mostrato sopra (fig. 14).<sup>44</sup> Vi erano inoltre scene figurate, come la scena di un tribunale rinvenuta nel Caseggiato di Ercole (IV II 3).<sup>45</sup> Allorché nel corso del III secolo nelle *Domus* ostiensi più ornate, si torna ad applicare rivestimenti di marmo - quantomeno nella parte inferiore delle pareti - nelle decorazioni rifiorisce anche l'imitazione di tale materiale, con l'impiego di schemi molto simili a quelli diffusi nel IV Stile, anche se poi i motivi geometrici che riproducono l'*opus sectile* sono più grandi e grossolani e l'imitazione dei vari tipi di marmo si presenta meno realistica. Un buon esempio di questo genere di decorazioni lo fornisce la Casa delle Pareti Gialle (III IX 12; fig. 25), dove nella riproduzione di un'incrostazione marmorea, nell'ambiente VIII, appaiono inseriti *peltae* (scudi di Amazzoni) e rombi. Raramente invece ci arrivano informazioni relative alla porzione di parete sovrastante questo tipo di decorazione parietale. In alcuni casi possiamo affer-

mare che vi erano scene a grandi figure, come accade nella *Domus* del Ninfeo, dove si conserva purtroppo solo la parte inferiore della rappresentazione, con figure ferme e altre in movimento.<sup>46</sup>

#### IL RAPPORTO CON IL CONTESTO

Prendendo in esame il rapporto tra dipinti parietali e uso dello spazio a Ostia, non può sfuggire il fatto che in alcuni complessi termali, edifici con una funzione più o meno pubblica dunque, le decorazioni sono coerenti con l'impiego degli ambienti: si pensi ad esempio alle raffigurazioni di Venere e di una Nereide nelle Terme del Faro e all'associazione di Venere Anadiomene e Venere Marina nelle Terme dei Sette Sapienti (figg. 21-23), entrambe eseguite probabilmente nei primi decenni del III secolo d.C. e sicuramente dopo il 205, come già stabilito sopra. Le due pitture si ricollegano a una lunga tradizione, nota attraverso numerosi esemplari pompeiani, quali quelli nelle Terme Suburbane a Pompei.<sup>47</sup> Per quel che riguarda le abitazioni, invece, è molto più complesso individuare una relazione tra le figure dipinte e l'uso degli spazi. Forse perché molte decorazioni venivano commissionate dai proprietari degli stabili senza tener conto di destinazioni particolari dei vari ambienti: gli inquilini avevano insomma la massima libertà di scelta in quanto le pitture consentivano un uso multifunzionale degli spazi di un appartamento. Un'indicazione di questa prassi è il fatto che in alcuni palazzi appartamenti diversi presentano una decorazione molto simile: basta pensare alle Case a Giardino (III IX 13-20) o alle tre case adiacenti al lato ovest dell'*insula* I IV, la Casa di Giove e Ganimede (I IV 2), la Casa di Bacco Fanciullo (I IV 3) e la Casa dei Dipinti (I IV 4). A volte, però, esiste veramente un legame tra utilizzo dello spazio e decorazione, come avviene nella Casa delle Volte Dipinte (III v 1), dove le piccole stanze sono rese molto luminose da pareti chiare, mentre nelle stanze più grandi, di rappresentanza e con più finestre, prevalgono il rosso e il giallo, talvolta anche il bruno e il nero.<sup>48</sup>

Altre scene figurate si osservano nelle pitture tombali; scene attinte da un repertorio di temi mitologici spesso ricorrenti, che rimandano alla morte stessa o sono da interpretare piuttosto in senso dionisiaco come un riferimento alla morte e rinascita della natura. Dal punto di vista dei sistemi impiegati e dell'uso del colore la pittura tombale ostiense riprende gli schemi qui presi in esame, che furono in voga nei diversi momenti della storia della città.<sup>49</sup>





Fig. 25. Casa delle Pareti Gialle (III IX 12), ambiente VIII, parete sud, pittura con imitazione di opus sectile (foto S. Mols).

In vari studi recenti, soprattutto di Falzone (1999, 2001) e Mols (1999 e 1999a), le pitture ostiensi non vengono più solamente studiate come categoria a se stante, ma sempre più nel loro contesto e vengono così anche usate come fonte per la nostra conoscenza della storia di edifici individuali e infine possono rilevare aspetti della vita nella città antica.

#### MANI DI PITTORI E BOTTEGHE

In alcuni casi è possibile attribuire pitture in contesti differenti a una sola bottega e forse anche alle stesse mani di pittori. Molto conosciute sono le pitture con varie raffigurazioni di Venere o di una Nereide nelle Terme dei Sette Sapienti e nelle Terme del Faro, già menzionate (figg. 21, 22 e 23). Lo stile qui indica a uno o più pittori che hanno decorato ambedue gli ambienti in questione. Questo pittore o questa bottega ha lavorato all'inizio del III secolo. Ma anche prima, intorno a 150 d.C., vediamo confronti vistosi nei sistemi usati e soprattutto nei dettagli delle nature morte inserite (ad esempio le cornici indicate solo in parte) che indicano a una stessa bottega che ha lavorato in vari ambienti del Caseggiato degli Aurighi (III XIV 1) in due appartamenti diversi (ambienti 8, 28, 30; fig. 9) e in diversi vani di una casa che posteriormente è stata cambiata in un mitreo, il Mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro (I III 5).<sup>50</sup> Anche nelle decorazioni di alcune delle Case a Giardino (III IX 13-

20) e nelle Case al lato ovest dell'insula I IV, la Casa di Giove e Ganimede (I IV 2), la Casa di Bacco Fanciullo (I IV 3) e la Casa dei Dipinti (I IV 4) similitudini indicano a botteghe analoghe. È un desideratum per gli studiosi negli anni prossimi di entrare più profondamente nelle problematiche delle botteghe che hanno lavorato a Ostia.<sup>51</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONE

Con questo contributo è stata presentata una rassegna degli studi pubblicati sulla decorazione parietale ostiense, nonché una proposta per nuove direzioni degli studi nel prossimo futuro. In questo genere di indagini, come è stato detto, è importante impiegare sia criteri di datazione quanto più possibile oggettivi, quali la successione degli strati nei dipinti, che criteri esterni come le iscrizioni o i bolli laterizi. Il confronto stilistico vi ha un ruolo secondario, sebbene non sia affatto disprezzabile. È senz'altro possibile collocare nel medesimo intervallo temporale pitture diverse sulla base di analogie stilistiche. In quel caso però occorre procedere con cautela e grande accuratezza.

#### NOTE

<sup>1</sup> Questo contributo è una versione alterata e aggiornata di una conferenza tenuta all'Istituto Olandese a Roma il 27 novembre 2000 in occasione del mio ritorno all'Università di Nimega dopo un'incarico di assistente

- scientifico per gli studi archeologici di due anni e mezzo. Una versione molto abbreviata è uscita nel catalogo della mostra tenuta a Ginevra *Ostia. Port e porte de la Rome antique* (ed. Jean-Paul Descoeudres, Genève 2001, 325-333). Per l'autorizzazione di condurre ricerche sulle pitture ostiensi ringrazio la Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia, e in particolare la Soprintendente, dott.ssa Anna Gallina Zevi, e la dott.ssa Jane Sheppard. Diversi colleghi hanno fornito un importante contributo tramite osservazioni, appunti e nel corso di conversazioni sull'argomento. Per questo ringrazio in modo particolare: Marie-Christine van Binnebeke, Janet DeLaine, Stella Falzone, Nathalie de Haan, Michael Heinzelmann, Willian Loerts, Eric Moormann, Willem Peters e Norbert Zimmermann. Ringrazio inoltre Cecilia Tavanti per la traduzione del testo.
- <sup>2</sup> Si veda a proposito della scialbatura una delle prime rassegne della pittura ostiense: Calza 1920-1921, 376; inoltre Mols 1999, soprattutto 251-254 e 368.
  - <sup>3</sup> Ostia, Depositi, inv. 57222. I frammenti vengono studiati da Stella Falzone e Angelo Pellegrino. Alcuni di essi sono stati presentati nella mostra di Ginevra 2001. Veda Chrzanowski/Krause/Pellegrino 2001, 75 e cat. No II.1 (A. Pellegrino), in Descoeudres 2001, 395.
  - <sup>4</sup> Il materiale proveniente dalla Domus dei Pesci è stato presentato da Stella Falzone durante il I Colloquio Internazionale su Ostia Antica (novembre 1996). Una pubblicazione da parte della stessa Stella Falzone è in preparazione.
  - <sup>5</sup> Si veda Kockel/Ortisi 2000, 358 e 359, Abb. 9.
  - <sup>6</sup> Il frammento si trova sul lato ovest della parete ovest dell'ambiente più orientale.
  - <sup>7</sup> Per la *domus*: Bauer/Heinzelmann/Martin 2000, 376 e 394-405; per le frammenti di IV stile veda: Mols 2000, 406-407 e Abb. 28-29.
  - <sup>8</sup> Vengono menzionati brevemente in Kockel/Ortisi 2000, 358.
  - <sup>9</sup> Cfr. per questa pittura anche Mols 1999, 299-302.
  - <sup>10</sup> Cfr. Falzone/Pellegrino 1996, in particolare 205-208.
  - <sup>11</sup> Cfr. Reekmans 1968, 201.
  - <sup>12</sup> Mau si esprime in termini spregiativi riguardo alla pittura postpompeiana (1882, 461): 'Hier haben wir schon nicht mehr bloss Einfachkeit, sondern die erschreckendste Armuth zu constatieren'. Cfr. anche Styger 1926-1927, 103-104: 'una notevole decadenza' e Marconi 1919, in particolare 112. L'effetto è stata che la storia della pittura romana dopo la distruzione di Pompei è molto meno nota rispetto a quella avanti 79 d.C., eco della quale si può dedurre ancora dalla rassegna *La peinture romaine* di Alix Barbet (1985), che però non entra affatto nel materiale post-pompeiana nonostante il titolo del suo studio.
  - <sup>13</sup> Quest'idea, non certo nuova, è formulata già in Fornari (1913), Krieger (1919, 43) e Calza (1920-1921, 407).
  - <sup>14</sup> Cfr. a proposito di questo eclettismo: Fornari 1913, 311; De Wit 1938, 17; Reekmans 1968, 214. Secondo A. Linfert (1975, 13) il fenomeno ha inizio già nel IV stile: 'Die Systeme der älteren Stile sind Repertoire geworden. Ganz nach Wunsch und Geschmack können sie angewandt werden, wie dies auch in den wenigen Beispielen von Malerei des 2. Jahrhunderts noch zu sehen ist.' Thomas 1995, 324 parla di un pluralismo di forme, determinato dal carattere eclettico dell'arte romana. Cfr. Anche Moormann 1998, 26.
  - <sup>15</sup> In passato non sono mancati pareri diversi al riguardo, come quello di Krieger (1919, 51-52) che individuò un V stile in epoca adrianea e un VI stile severiano.
  - <sup>16</sup> Cfr. Pavolini 1986, 183. Del materiale emerso nelle campagne di scavo condotte tra il 1935 e il 1942 circa soltanto una parte è stata pubblicata in monografie: Felletti Maj 1961, Felletti Maj/Moreno 1968, Gasparri 1970, Veloccia Rinaldi 1970-1971. Siamo lieti di constatare un interesse crescente in questo campo, soprattutto da parte di Stella Falzone e di Claudia Liedtke.
  - <sup>17</sup> Possiamo menzionare gli studi di Fornari (1913), Krieger (1919), Calza (1920-1921, 375-410: 'La pittura murale ostiense') e Wirth (1934), precedenti la grande campagna di scavo nella seconda metà degli anni '30 del ventesimo secolo, e quelli di Borda (1958, 90-115), Van Essen (1956-1958), Felletti Maj (1966-1968), Meiggs (1973, 436-446), Mielsch (1981) e Ling (1991, 175-197), tutti apparsi nella seconda metà del secolo, quando era ormai a disposizione un numero più cospicuo di esempi.
  - <sup>18</sup> Per una nota critica su alcune datazioni leggermente troppo tarde da parte di Joyce, si veda Mols 1999, 363 per quanto riguarda le pitture degli appartamenti nel pianterreno del Caseggiato degli Aurighi.
  - <sup>19</sup> Cfr. anche Falzone 2001 e Mols 2001.
  - <sup>20</sup> Mols 1999. Cfr. Mielsch 1981, 220-222.
  - <sup>21</sup> Cfr. Felletti Maj (1966-1968, 28) che per definire una cronologia delle decorazioni parietali propone i seguenti criteri: 1) architettura; 2) successione degli strati; 3) qualità dello stucco e dei dipinti. Reekmans (1973, 271-291) fornisce una sintesi storica degli studi relativi alle pitture nelle catacombe e propone (ibid., 281-282) di basare il metodo su: a) topografia delle catacombe; b) architettura/struttura; c) sintassi del sistema decorativo; d) iconografia; e) stile (tra l'altro, lo sviluppo di motivi puramente ornamentali); f) criteri esterni per le datazioni. Cfr. anche Mielsch 1981, 220.
  - <sup>22</sup> Sono ancora utilissimi in questo rispetto i contributi di Bloch (1938 e 1953). Veda inoltre DeLaine 2001.
  - <sup>23</sup> Per una descrizione particolareggiata si veda Felletti Maj/Moreno 1967, 38-39 e per un commento: Mielsch 1981, 214.
  - <sup>24</sup> Cfr. anche Felletti Maj/Moreno 1968, 47 e inoltre per gli esempi a Pompei: Casa della Venere in Bikini (I 11, 6.7), PPM 2 (1990), 532 e 533-545 figg. 8-30 (con rimando ad altre decorazioni parietali analoghe). Si veda per altri esempi: Casa dei Quattro Stili (I 8, 17), triclinio 14, cfr. PPM 1 (1989) 876-891 figg. 53-72; Casa di Octavius Quartio (II 2, 2), ambiente d e f, cfr. PPM 3 (1991), rispettivamente 58-65 figg. 27-38 e 70-78 figg. 46-54; Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9, 6.7), cubicolo 35, cfr. PPM 4 (1993), 876-879, figg. 32-45; Casa dei Vetti (VI 15, 1), *oecus* e, cfr. PPM 5, 488-492 figg. 30-35; Casa del Principe di Napoli (VI 15, 7-8), tablino e cubicolo f, cfr. PPM 5 (1994), 645-657, figg. 12-14 e 16-17; Casa dell'Ara Massima (VI 16, 15.17), pseudo-tablino D, cfr. PPM 5 (1994), 880-883, figg. 44-47; VII 3, 21, *oecus* C, cfr. PPM 6 (1996), 882-895 figg. 5-25.
  - <sup>25</sup> Cfr. Mielsch 1981, 224.
  - <sup>26</sup> Criptoportico: cfr. Wirth 1929, 130-131 e Abb. 7; Wirth 1934, 65 e Abb. 27.
  - <sup>27</sup> Cfr. Mols 1996 (con bibliografia precedente) e 1999, 302-305.
  - <sup>28</sup> Cfr. Ling 1991, 175; Moormann 1998, 26.
  - <sup>29</sup> Si veda ad esempio Fornari 1913, 306-307.
  - <sup>30</sup> Cfr. Mielsch 1981, 224-225.
  - <sup>31</sup> Cfr. Mielsch 1981, 214; *contra* Felletti Maj/Moreno 1967, *passim*.
  - <sup>32</sup> Cfr. Mols 1999, 362-363.
  - <sup>33</sup> Cfr. Borda 1958, 111 (fig.), il quale data queste pitture erroneamente all'inizio del III secolo.

- <sup>34</sup> La datazione al 130-140 d.C. per la Casa delle Ierodule (II IX, parte dell'anello esteriore delle Casa a Giardino), proposta da Veloccia Rinaldi (1970-1971, 165-185) appare troppo alta e condividiamo la critica mossa da Mielsch (1981, 208) al riguardo. Più verosimile è una datazione al 150 d.C. circa. Cfr. anche Falzone/Pellegrino 2001.
- <sup>35</sup> Cfr. per la collocazione molto dubitativa della scena entro un contesto omosessuale: Clarke 1991, 327-336.
- <sup>36</sup> Cfr. anche Mielsch 1981, 226. Non vi è motivo di datare queste decorazioni al III secolo, come ha proposto Van Essen (1956-1958; periodo del regno di Gallieno). I primi esempi di pitture in stile lineare databili a Roma, nelle stanze c e c' di una casa sotto S. Giovanni in Laterano, sono eseguiti negli anni '80 del II secolo, cfr. Mols/Moormann 1998, 127-130.
- <sup>37</sup> Liedtke 1995 e 2001.
- <sup>38</sup> Cfr. nota 36.
- <sup>39</sup> Cfr. Laken 2001.
- <sup>40</sup> Baccini Leotardi (1978) ha dedicato una monografia all'argomento. Per osservazioni critiche al riguardo e per criteri che puntano a una datazione in età severiana si veda Mols 1999, in particolare 283-285.
- <sup>41</sup> Cfr. Moormann 1994, 262-272; Bakker 2001, 181-183 con fig. 6 e 7.
- <sup>42</sup> Cfr. la discussione sulla datazione in Mols 1999, 310-312 e 363-364.
- <sup>43</sup> Cfr. Clarke 1998, 265-274.
- <sup>44</sup> Van Essen 1956-1958, 177.
- <sup>45</sup> Cfr. Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, 95-96.
- <sup>46</sup> Cfr. Becatti 1948, 197-224.
- <sup>47</sup> Cfr. per decorazioni in contesti termali a Pompei: De Haan 1997, 214-219.
- <sup>48</sup> Cfr. Mielsch 1981, 215; Falzone 2001.
- <sup>49</sup> Cfr. panoramica in Calza 1939a, 97-160, Cap. IV: La decorazione pittorica.
- <sup>50</sup> Cfr. Mols 1999, 333-335, 346-349 e 362-363.
- <sup>51</sup> Attualmente il sottoscritto lavora con l'equipe dell'Università di Reading (Janet DeLaine) che si occupa dell'insula I IV e studia le pitture delle tre case al lato ovest.
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GRIEKSE EN LATIJNSE TAAL EN CULTUUR  
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# Late Roman Thirst How Dark Coloured Drinking Sets from Trier were used<sup>1</sup>

D.C. Steures

Two recent studies treat the dark colour-coated pottery from Trier of the third and fourth centuries AD: Symonds 1992 and Künzl 1997. R. Symonds treats all fine dark coloured pottery from Gaul and Germany, whereas Susanna Künzl discusses dark coloured pottery from Trier decorated with white and some yellow barbotine and/or white paint on the colour coating, with or without mottoes. Both have lists of mottoes.<sup>2</sup> Künzl also has a chapter on the mottoes<sup>3</sup> where she discusses the way the beakers with their narrow feet, globular bodies and conical necks were used, and writes about the height of the beakers.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of the present article is to add to Künzl's interpretations of the way the drinking sets were used. Material presented in this article comes from the two late Roman cemeteries of Nijmegen;<sup>5</sup> unpublished mottoes from Nijmegen with texts not in the two lists mentioned will be indicated by an asterisk.

## PAINTED DRINKING MOTTOES AND ONE GRAFFITO

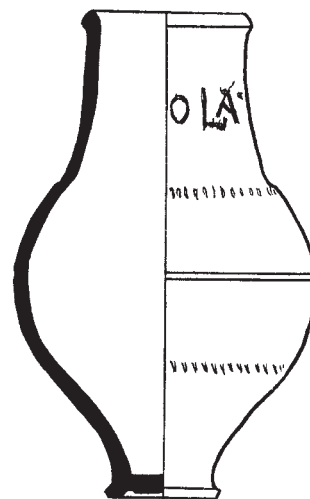
Mottoes like SITIO ('I'm thirsty') and EBIBE\* ('come on, drink') confirm the use of the decorated and with them the undecorated beakers as drinking vessels. Wishes like VIVAS ('may you live'), VIVAMVS and its abbreviated form VAMVS\* ('may we live'), GAVDEAS ('may you have a good time') show that one drank to one another's health. Texts like DAMI (= *da mihi*: 'give me'), DASIV\* (= *da si vis*: 'give, if you will'), INPLE and REPLE ('fill', 'refill') show that it was a social thirst and that one could ask in a free-and-easy way: the tavern is the place where this can be done. Admittedly, any references to the innkeeper (CAVPO or COPO) are lacking so far in Nijmegen, as do indeed all references to brothels. MANENTI\* ('for who stays') shows that one could drink until the late hours. MISCE ('mix'), which is found especially on the smallest beakers, suggests that water was added to the wine only in the beaker. So they are wine beakers, in a great variety of sizes.

One Nijmegen text does not fit into this list:

OLATENE BIBE\* (= *ollam tene bibe*: 'take the beaker and drink': Fig. 1). This text is not painted on, but it is a graffito on an undecorated beaker of Symonds' group 61. The first excavator of the Inner City cemetery of Nijmegen, the late prof. H. Brunsting, saw it for what it is. The graffito turns a kiln waster into an article of fun: it has a firing crack in its bottom. Whoever followed the advice written on the beaker would spill wine on his dress, and that was funny. Particularly funny to receive this beaker in one's grave.

## TPOLOGY

The undecorated dark colour coated beakers to which the beaker of Fig. 1 belongs are far more numerous than the ones with painted mottoes.



OLATENE BIBE

Fig. 1. Nijmegen, Museum Het Valkhof, III 257.  
Beaker Symonds 61 with graffito OLA TENE BIBE.  
Stray find opposite Nijmegen city hall.

Renate Pirling found difficulty in assigning them to well-defined types: in her first publication of the Krefeld-Gellep cemeteries, she wrote that her types 59-62 could not be exactly distinguished one from the other, nor would they be chronologically subdivided.<sup>6</sup> Symonds solved Pirling's problem (without mentioning it) by assigning Pirling's undecorated types 59, 61 and 62 to one group: Symonds 61,<sup>7</sup> which covers both small, medium and large size beakers of slim or sturdy model of the fourth century. Undecorated indented beakers form Symonds' group 62.<sup>8</sup> The table of Fig. 3 will also show Symonds 32 with a question mark: the few sturdy beakers with this number do not, on second thoughts of the author, belong to the third century group Symonds 32:<sup>9</sup> they are atypical representatives of the fourth century group Symonds 61. Small decorated beakers are Künzl's type 1.4.1,<sup>10</sup> the medium sized ones are Künzl 1.6.2, and the large ones are Künzl 1.6.1.<sup>11</sup> So the sizes are taken into account in Künzl's types, and not in those of Symonds.

#### SIZES AND VOLUMES OF THE BEAKERS

The sample of 252 beakers presented in Figs. 2-3 comprises all beakers from the excavations before 1998, all stray finds from the cemetery in the inner city of Nijmegen, and some stray finds from cemetery East Nijmegen. Apart from the five *types* in the column headings of Fig. 3, (S (= Symonds) 61+32, S62, K (= Künzl) 1.4.1, K1.6.1 and K1.6.2), six *size groups* may be distinguished, as appears when the frequencies of the heights of the beakers

are grouped per half cm (Fig. 2). The six resulting size groups are called, in analogy to contemporary dress sizes: XS (= extra small), S, M (= medium), L (= large), XL, and XXL. The volumes, measured by filling one or more beakers per size group with water up to the transition between shoulder and neck, are no multiples of one another. However, in the table of Fig. 3 it would seem that there is a unit of 130 cc in size groups XS, S and M: 125, 260 and 390 cc, respectively. Two facts, also in Fig. 3, argue against this: there is also a volume of 200 cc in XS, and size group S appears to be a conglomerate of seven small motto beakers, one typical and four atypical beakers of Symonds' group 61, plus two indented beakers. So the beakers do not seem to be standardized in the present day sense of the word; which is all but impossible for a potter. But standard heights seem to have been intended, in *uncia* (2.467 cm) of one twelfth of a Roman foot. Calculating with the other subdivision of the foot, *digiti* of one sixteenth of a foot, i.e. 1.85 cm, does not lead to round numbers. The intended heights seem to be: 4.5 *uncia* for XS, 5 for S, 6-6.5 for M, 8 for L, 8.5 for XL, and 9.5-11 *uncia* for XXL. Finally, Fig. 3 shows the numeric preponderance of the undecorated beakers (Symonds' types, indicated with S in the column headings) over the decorated ones, indicated with K for Künzl's types.

#### DRINKING HABITS

It cannot be established whether sizes had anything to do with different kinds of wine. It seems

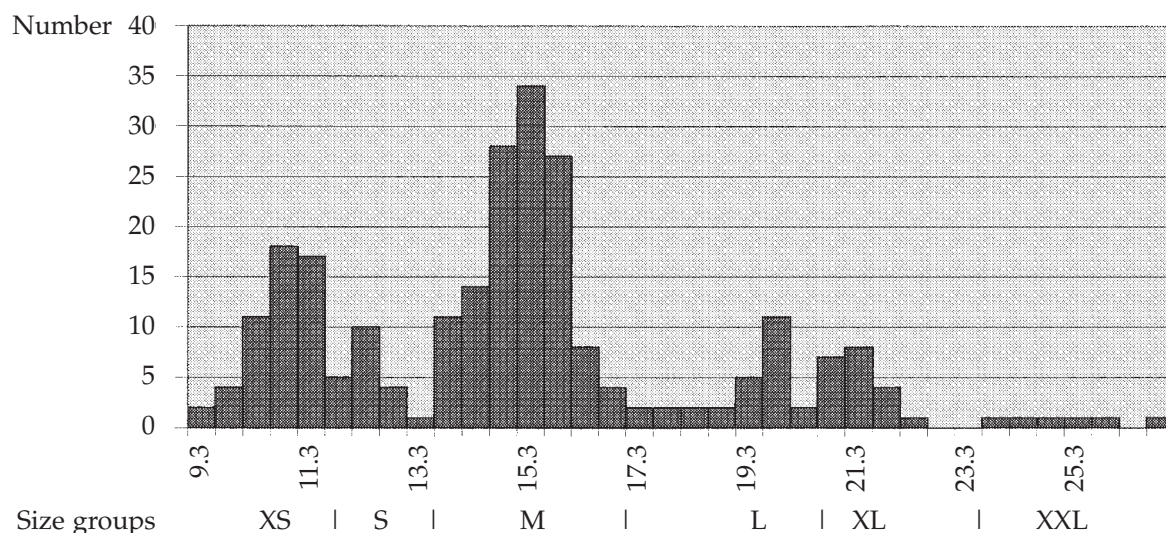


Fig. 2. Bar diagram of the heights of 252 dark coloured beakers found in Nijmegen, grouped per 0.5 cm.



N = 252 (272 beakers, 20 of which incomplete in height).

Size group	Domain cm	Modus cm	<i>Digiti</i> 1/16 pes	<i>Unciae</i> 1/12 pes	Volume cc	Number of beakers per type and size group						
						K141	S61	S32?	S62	K162	K161	Totals
XS	9.1-12.0	10.6-11.5	5.7-6.2	4.3-4.7	125; 200	53	4	-	-	-	-	57
S	12.1-13.5	12.1-12.5	6.5-6.8	4.9-5.1	260	7	1	4	2	-	-	14
M	13.6-17.0	14.6-16.0	7.9-8.6	5.9-6.5	390	1	115	-	3	7	-	126
L	17.1-20.0	19.5-20.0	10.5-10.8	7.9-8.1	590	-	23	-	-	-	1	24
XL	20.1-22.5	20.6-21.5	11.1-11.6	8.4-8.7	880	-	23	-	-	-	2	25
XXL	23.6-27.0	-	12.8-14.6	9.6-10.9	1100	-	5	-	-	-	1	6
Totals						61	171	4	5	7	4	252

Fig. 3. Table of size groups and types of 252 dark coloured beakers found in Nijmegen.

more likely that large sizes were intended for great drinkers. The average drinker used the quantity that goes into a medium size beaker, c. 390 cc. Other drinkers drank on steadily with the extra small beakers, i.e. the motto beakers of Künzl's type 1.4.1. When drinking, they folded their hands comfortably around the warm beakers: some mottoes refer to warm wine. CALDVM ('hot') refers to a neuter noun: *poculum*, *vinum* or *merum*, i.e. beaker, wine or unmixed wine; CALO ('I'm hot'), DACALDAM (= *da caldam* (*aquam*): 'give hot water'). The shape of these beakers with their globular bodies and conical necks seems to be designed to keep the wine warm.

#### MIXING BOWLS?

Künzl suggests that the large beakers (her type 1.6.1) were intended to be mixing bowls (*Cratere*).<sup>12</sup> I doubt this. The name *Crater* suggests that mixing took place before pouring out; we already saw that mixing probably took place in the drinking beaker itself. During the discussion after the lecture on which this article is based, M. Erdrich supported Künzl's view. Whilst processing the finds during the excavations of cemetery East Nijmegen, he noticed wear marks on the lower inside of the large beakers, as if they had been stirred regularly; such wear marks were absent from smaller beakers. This need not mean that the large beakers served as mixing bowl for groups: the larger one's portion of mixed drink, the more one feels inclined to stir. Moreover, the evidence from Nijmegen, both mottoes and find circum-

stances, does not support this supposed function of carafe. Amongst the *mottoes* on Künzl 1.6.1 there is, admittedly, the greeting AVETE in the plural number ('hello everyone'), as if the beaker was intended to be served to a group; but this same greeting also occurs on two beakers of size group XS (Künzl 1.4.1), in the forms AVET\* en APETE\*. Moreover, one of the large beakers of Künzl's type 1.6.1 has the imperative singular VTERE ('use on your own'): very appropriate in a single grave. As for the *find circumstances*: two of these (extra) extra large beakers were indeed found together with smaller beakers. Two others, however, though accompanied by other pottery, were found without smaller beakers.

The undecorated beakers of Symonds' type 61, which fall outside the scope of Künzl's study, have also been screened in order to answer the question whether the L-XXL beakers were intended as carafes. In 13 cases these are accompanied by smaller beakers, as opposed to 23 cases where they are not. No less than 11 out of these 23 were the only artifact in the grave. Here too the function of carafe is improbable. The obvious pouring vessels are the decorated jugs of Künzl's type 12 = Symonds' groups 53-54 (Fig. 4).<sup>13</sup>

#### BOTTLES

Apart from beakers and jugs, there are globular bottles with funnel-shaped necks (Künzl type 14 = Symonds group 50),<sup>14</sup> whose function has never been discussed. Symonds calls them surprisingly carafes. Such a bottle from Nijmegen makes clear

how they were used (Fig. 5). It bears the painted motto PARCE ('be sparing', 'just a bit'), seemingly in stark contrast to the enthusiastic drinking motives discussed above. This motto becomes understandable, when these bottles were meant for water to be mixed with *merum*, the pure wine. In Künzl's list the word PARCE figures six times, three out of which in combination with AQVAM ('be sparing with water', 'just a bit of water').<sup>15</sup> The only pouring vessels out of the six pieces with PARCE are two such bottles. One of these has PARCE AQVAM ADIC MERVM: 'be sparing with water, add pure wine' (Fig. 6).<sup>16</sup> The shape of these globular bottles is designed to keep the water they contained hot. If one wanted to be sparing with water, and make the wine in the beaker nice and warm, the water in the bottle had to be boiling hot. The funnel shape of the neck is particularly suited to pouring in and out boiling water without accidents. The bottles seem to have

been a later invention than the beakers, because it is not clear whether they belonged to the first series of the production of Trier motto beakers.<sup>17</sup> I suggest that the workshops began to market them as soon as they had observed that boiling water was added in their beakers. Their bottles were not the commercial success the beakers were: so far, 10 bottles are known from Nijmegen, as opposed to the 252 beakers presented above (plus many as yet uncounted stray finds).

#### DRINKING SETS

So, theoretically, a complete drinking set consisted of a jug for cold *merum* or pure wine, a bottle for boiling hot *aqua* or water, and a globular beaker designed to keep the *vinum* or mixed wine nice and warm in. Such a drinking set was never found.<sup>18</sup> The consumer did not comply with the wishes of the producer.

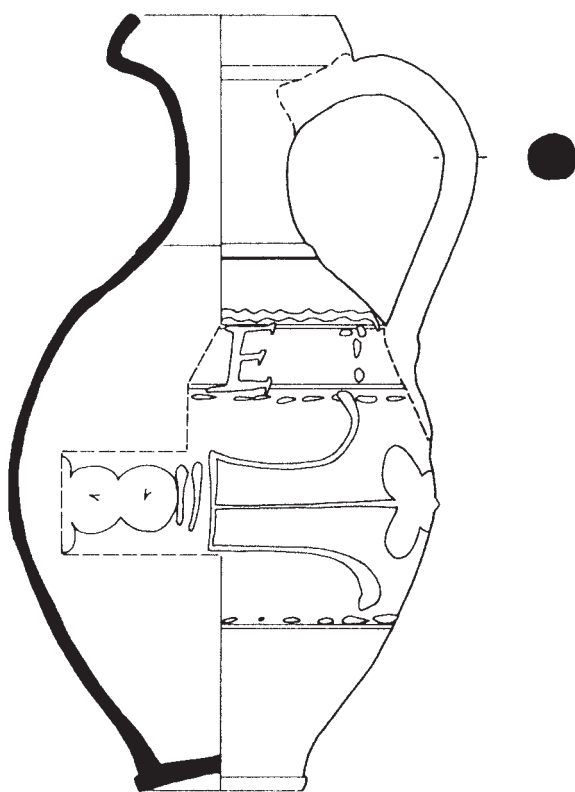


Fig. 4. A jug of Künzl's shape 12 = Symonds group 53. After Symonds 1992, fig. 41, 730.

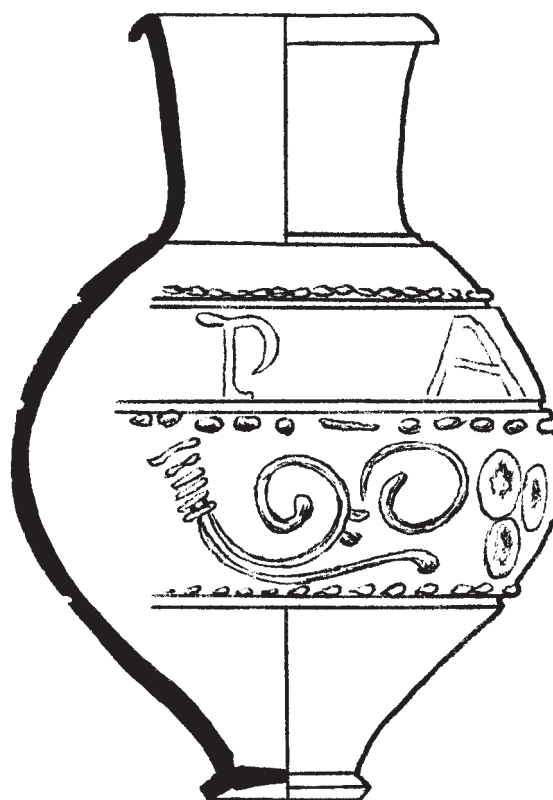


Fig. 5. Nijmegen, Museum Het Valkhof, 12.1984.7. Bottle with motto PARCE.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Based upon a lecture held by the author at the Nijmegen University Roman Pottery Symposium of 8 March 2002.
- <sup>2</sup> Symonds 1992, 112-121; Künzl 1997, 252-259.
- <sup>3</sup> Künzl 1997, chapter 8, 94-101.
- <sup>4</sup> Künzl 1997, chapter 12, 123-128.
- <sup>5</sup> The author is preparing the publication of both late Roman cemeteries of Nijmegen: Inner City (*Binnenstad*) of over 1100 graves, and East (*Oost*), 343 graves.
- <sup>6</sup> Pirling 1966, 71.
- <sup>7</sup> Symonds 1992, 66-67, fig. 46.
- <sup>8</sup> Symonds 1992, 67, fig. 47.
- <sup>9</sup> Symonds 1992, 49-53, figs. 24-25.
- <sup>10</sup> Künzl 1997, 21, Typentafel 2.
- <sup>11</sup> Künzl 1997, 22, Typentafel 3.
- <sup>12</sup> Künzl 1997, 22.
- <sup>13</sup> Künzl 1997, 30-32, Typentafel 5-6; Symonds 1992, 58, figs. 41-43.
- <sup>14</sup> Künzl 1997, 34-36, Typentafel 6-7; Symonds 1992, 56, figs. 38-40.
- <sup>15</sup> Künzl 1997, 256.

- <sup>16</sup> Symonds 1992, 48, 106, 117 consequently separates the words wrongly.
- <sup>17</sup> Künzl 1997, 34-35.
- <sup>18</sup> Künzl 1997, 123-124.

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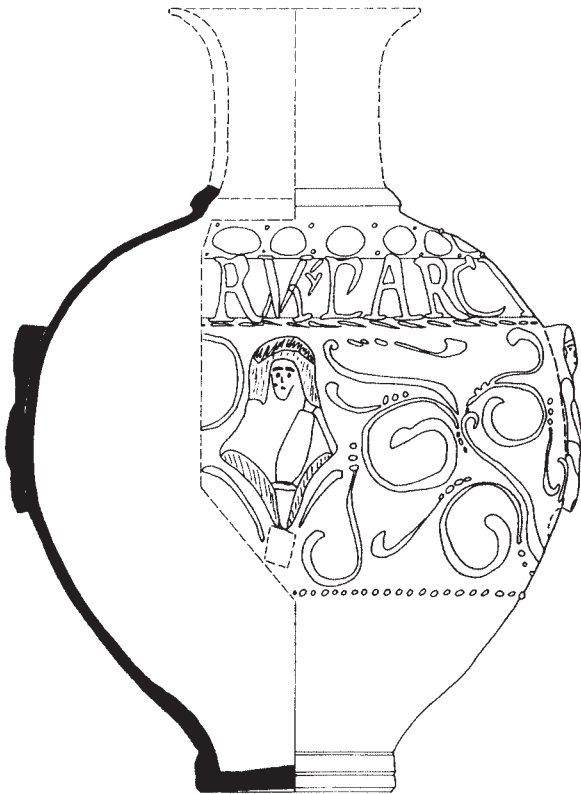


Fig. 6. Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 04,431a.  
Bottle with motto PARCE AQVAM ADIC MERVM.  
Drawing after Symonds 1992, fig. 38, 702.



# Germanic Pendants and a Roman Medallion Fifth-century Pendants from the Late Roman Cemetery in the Inner City of Nijmegen

D.C. Steures<sup>1</sup>

When H.W. Böhme published the fifth-century woman's grave known as Nijmegen Nieuwstraat 46 in 1974,<sup>2</sup> he was not able to discuss three identical bronze sheet pendants found at the feet of the deceased: no drawings or photographs were available then.<sup>3</sup> Since then, the pendants have been both restored and drawn twice.

The grave (Fig. 1), of a lady of the Germanic military elite of fifth-century Nijmegen, contained both pottery and glass grave goods and personal ornaments, as well as objects of daily use. The presence of pottery is remarkable, as the use of giving pottery grave goods had ceased in this cemetery c. AD 355. The personal ornaments included two long Germanic hairpins (Figs. 1 and 2, 1-2).<sup>4</sup> A composite bowl fibula with bronze sheet decoration known as *Preßblech* (Fig. 1, 8; Fig. 3) shows a Star of David, to be dated Vab.<sup>5</sup> The two triangles of this Star of David are interlaced, as on Roman silver table ware found in Mildenhall and Kaiseraugst,<sup>6</sup> and on *Kerbschnitt* garnitures,<sup>7</sup> all datable to the middle of the fourth century. The coin in her mouth was a by then antique denarius of Marcus Aurelius (RIC 712): the family wanted her to have a good old-fashioned silver coin instead of the worthless Roman coins of the later fourth century, the last to be imported into these parts. The buckle of her narrow belt seems to be datable to the mid-fifth century<sup>8</sup> and provides the *terminus post quem* for the burial. The presence of two *lunula* ornaments in her grave, one hanging from the hairpin Fig. 2, 2, the other from a necklace, show her to be a young woman of fertile age: *lunulae* were fertility and growth amulets throughout antiquity and were given to women and children.<sup>9</sup>

The three identical *Preßblech* pendants (Fig. 1, 21; Fig. 4) were lying on top of each other below the

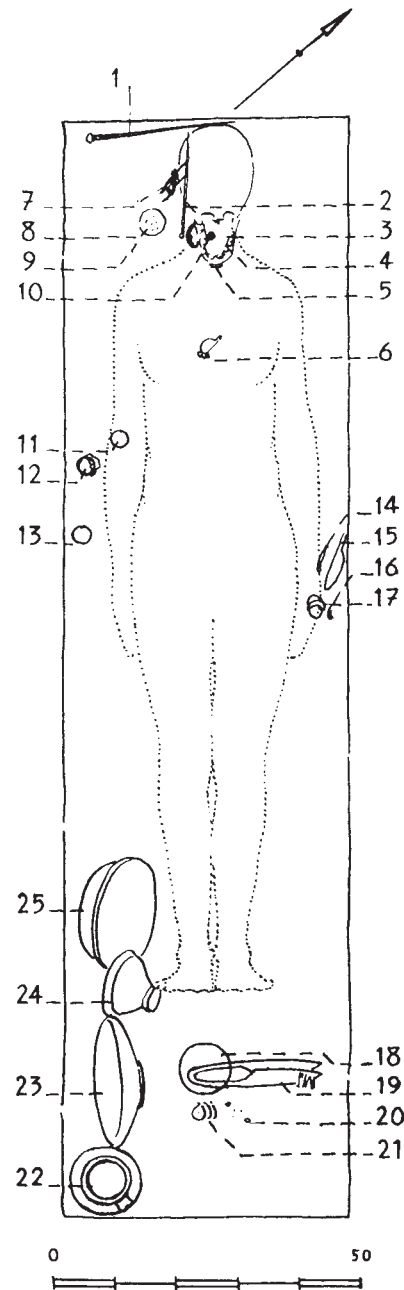


Fig. 1. Grave Nijmegen Nieuwstraat 46. 1: Hairpin type Wijster. 2: Hairpin type Vermand. 8: Composite bowl fibula, type Rhenen, with interlaced Star of David. 21: The *Preßblech* pendants. Drawing J. Ypey.

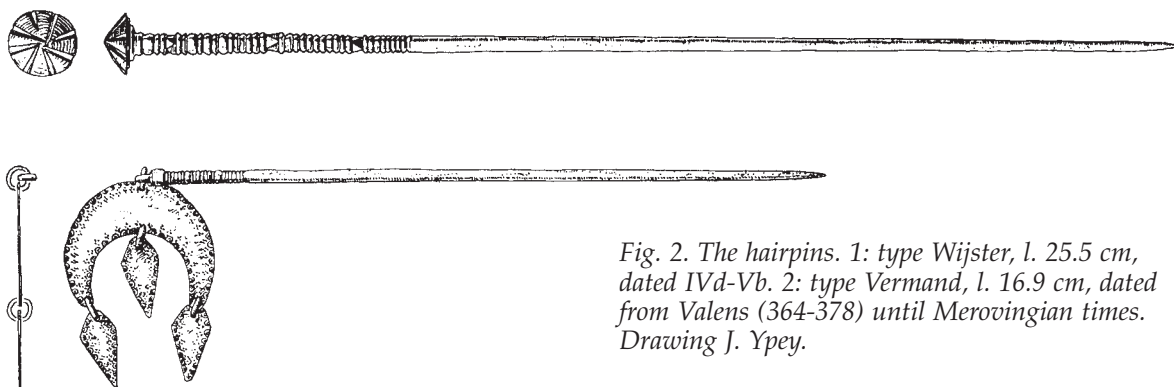


Fig. 2. The hairpins. 1: type Wijster, l. 25.5 cm, dated IVd-Vb. 2: type Vermand, l. 16.9 cm, dated from Valens (364-378) until Merovingian times. Drawing J. Ypey.



Fig. 3. The composite bowl fibula, type Rhenen, with interlaced Star of David, diam. 5 cm, dated Vab. Drawing J. Ypey.

Fig. 4. One of the three identical Preßblech pendants, diam. 2.8 cm.  
1: Composite drawing J. Ypey after restoration 1971.  
2: Photograph of one pendant by J. Kempkens after restoration 1997-1999.



Fig. 5. Gold medallion of Valens and Valentinianus, diam. 7.5 cm, dated AD 364-367. Berlin, Münzkabinett. Drawing by the author after Regling 1928.

feet of the deceased woman. They have a horizontal tubular eye, are 2.8 cm in diameter and were all three incomplete in different places, so that they could be completely restored on paper and physically.<sup>10</sup> They have a beaded rim and show two heads turned to each other, with heavy chins, half-long hair and draped shoulders. Between them is a pole-like frontal idol with its feet to the left. The legend around this composition reads TV (behind the head on the left), X (behind the head on the right), IIECF (underneath).<sup>11</sup>

There is nothing in Frankish *Preßblech* that looks like our pendants.<sup>12</sup> Inspiration for our pendants appears to have come from Roman medallions, i.e. special Roman issues with values the multiple of normal coins. Two heads together on a medallion mean the same as on coins of our own days: dynastic links. There is one Roman medallion, preserved in one copy, that must have been the inspiration for our pendants (Fig. 5).<sup>13</sup> The single copy known, in the Berlin Münzkabinett since 1928, was found in the former border area between Poland and Western Russia, together with many fourth century solidi and many worn

denarii of the first and second centuries AD (showing the same preference for old silver coins); the treasure turned up in 1927. The medallion is in solid gold, has a diameter of 7.5 cm and weighs, together with a heavy tubular eye soldered on secondarily, 242.49 grams. In the original publication, it is supposed that the medallion itself without the eye weighs 48 solidi = 218.40 grams = two-thirds of a Roman pound. The obverse shows, within a beaded rim, two emperors' heads opposite each other, with the strange legend R/EG/IS/ROMA/NO/R/VM = REGES ROMANORUM. The reverse is identical with the reverse of another large golden medallion, of Valens, who was emperor in the east of the otherwise undivided Empire 364-378.<sup>14</sup> One of the emperors on the Berlin medallion must therefore be Valens, the other his brother Valentinianus I, emperor in the west 364-375. The medallion must date before 24 August 367, the day on which Valentinianus' young son Gratianus was given the title of Augustus in the west: its date is narrowed down to the years 364-367.

This puts the Berlin medallion just before Valentinianus' fortification of the Rhine, from its beginning in the territory of the Raetii up to the 'Channel-Ocean' (*fretalem Oceanum*), in the year 369, as mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus 28. 2. 1 and repeated 30. 7. 6. Byvanck, who first thought that the North Sea was meant by *fretalem Oceanum*,<sup>15</sup> later changed his mind and supposed it was the English Channel. Valentinianus, he wrote, fortified not further down the Rhine than Cologne, and then following the frontier of the territory under direct Roman control, i.e. the road Cologne-Gulik-Heerlen-Maastricht-Tongeren-Bavay-ports on the Channel.<sup>16</sup> Nowadays, however, there seems to be *communis opinio* among Dutch archaeologists that Valentinianus visited Nijmegen in 368 or 369 - without any ancient document to support this view.<sup>17</sup> However, it is supported by dendrochronologic evidence from the late Roman bridge on the river Meuse between Cuijk and Middelaar, a few kilometres south of Nijmegen. This shows a repair phase in winter 368 - spring 369:<sup>18</sup> if Valentinianus himself was not in or near Nijmegen, his executives were. This would have meant an opportunity for nearby Germanic leaders to receive the usual late Roman payment for their neutrality or active support: Roman gold, especially heavy medallions.<sup>19</sup> I suggest that another copy of the Berlin medallion was actually handed to a Germanic leader in or near Nijmegen on that occasion. It was then kept in the family for some generations, and led a



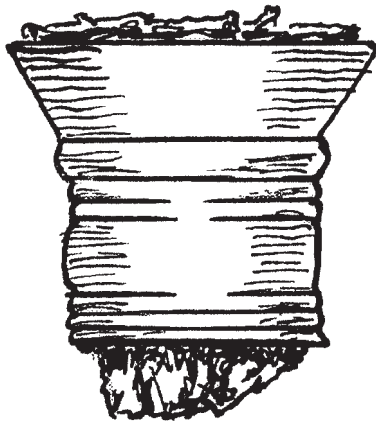


Fig. 6. Bronze sheet tube filled with mineralized wood, decoration of a stave or wand at the transition between knob and shaft, h. 2.2 cm. Found near the vanished right hand as no 13.

descendant around AD 440 to have the *Preßblech* pendants made as a means of tightening the bonds between himself and his followers. It was not the only medallion of Valens to find barbaric imitation: the Vienna medallion mentioned above was inspiration for a gold pendant from Norway.<sup>20</sup>

The frontal idol shown on the Nijmegen pendants between the two heads reminds of pole-like wooden idols from north-western Europe in the Iron Age and Roman times.<sup>21</sup> The maker of the pendants seems to mean the bond of a Germanic group around an idol. The golden medallion that had served as inspiration showed a dynastic link. The maker of the pendants thus interpreted borrowed Roman iconography in his own Germanic way.

The legend on the pendants, TV X IIECF, escapes interpretation for the time being. It is tempting, though, to read awkward Latin into it: TVX HEC F = *dux haec fecit*: the military leader made this. Unfortunately, only *hec* as an indeterminate form of the pronoun *hic* finds a parallel;<sup>22</sup> TVX for *dux* and II for *h* do not. All matters considered, it seems most probable that the text is not awkward Latin but a nonsense inscription of the kind that is frequently found on barbaric imitations of Roman coins, especially on those of the fifth and sixth centuries AD.<sup>23</sup>

Whether the family of the deceased woman wrote clumsy Latin or not, it is clear that they emphatically *felt* like old-fashioned Romans, witness the antique denarius, the interlaced Star of David borrowed from Roman table silverware, and the *Preßblech* pendants with their Roman

shape and iconography. And it is clear that they *were* emphatically Germanic, witness the long hairpins, the composite bowl fibula and the idol on the pendants.

A last question to be considered is: why put these unique pendants from a men's world into the grave of a woman? The only reasonable answer seems to be that the deceased lady was intimately linked with that world in a personal way, rather than merely being the wife or daughter of a Germanic leader. One more object from her grave has to be mentioned here in order to suggest her position in that men's world. Near the vanished right hand a bronze sheet knob filled with wood remains was found, consisting of a conical upper part closed with a disk at the top, and a cylindrical lower part (Fig. 6; h 2.2 cm, d top 1.9-2.7, d tube 1.8-2.0; cf. Böhme 1974, Taf. 85, 5). It clearly is the decoration of the knob of a stave. No parallels are known to me. The shape of the small knob with its sharp edge excludes the possibility that it was a walking stick. It seems probable that the stave was held not at the knob, but at the middle part of the shaft. Staves are signs of dignity for priests, high officials and rulers. As the latter two possibilities may be safely excluded, I suggest that the deceased lady was a priestess of the idol shown on the pendants. The only (male) priest of such a pole idol we know of is that of the goddess Nerthus = Mother Earth, mentioned in Tacitus' *Germania* 40. This priest sometimes drove the goddess in a chariot drawn by cows. Something similar happened as late as AD 369-372, when the Visigoth king Athanaric had an idol carried around through the settlements of the christianized Goths (Sozomenos, *hist. eccl.* 6.37). The Netherlands were to be christianized only centuries later, by Willibrord: such a priestess seems to be possible in the fifth century AD.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The author is preparing the publication of both late Roman cemeteries of Nijmegen: Inner City (*Binnenstad*), excavated by H. Brunsting 1947-1963, J.H.F. Bloemers 1975-1978, and J.R.A.M. Thijssen 1998-2001: over 1100 graves; and East (*Oost*), excavated by J.H.F. Bloemers 1975 and 1980-1983: 343 graves.

<sup>2</sup> Böhme 1974, 285-286 published four graves. All graves will be renumbered for publication, with due reference to the original numbering as known from Böhme 1974 for these four.

<sup>3</sup> Böhme 1974, 285, pl. 85; pendants: 44, n. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Type Wijster: Böhme 1974, 39 and 155. Type Vermand: *ibid.*, 39.

<sup>5</sup> Böhme 1974, 28 (type Rhenen), pl. 85, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Mildenhall: Brailsford 1947, Pl. 6. Kaiseraugst: Cahn/Kaufmann-Heinimann, no. 52.

- <sup>7</sup> Böhme 1974, 28.
- <sup>8</sup> M. Erdrich, personal communication.
- <sup>9</sup> Zadoks-Josephus Jitta/Witteveen 1984.
- <sup>10</sup> First restoration and drawing by the late J. Ypey, Amersfoort, 1971; second restoration and photograph by J. Kempkens, Haelen 1997-1999.
- <sup>11</sup> The last letter was read F by the author, and E by J. Ypey.
- <sup>12</sup> Klein-Pfeuffer 1993.
- <sup>13</sup> Regling 1928; Dressel/Regling 1972, 400-402, no. 265, pl. XXIX.
- <sup>14</sup> Kubitschek 1909, 39 no. 355, pl. 20.
- <sup>15</sup> Byvanck 1931, 435.
- <sup>16</sup> Byvanck 1943, 668-669.
- <sup>17</sup> Van Es 1981, 52; Mioulet/Barten 1994, 47.
- <sup>18</sup> Mioulet/Barten 1994, 47.
- <sup>19</sup> Bursche 1999.
- <sup>20</sup> Cf. Kubitschek 1909, pl. 21, 355 with Salin 1904, 217, fig. 505.
- <sup>21</sup> Glob 1969, 182, figs. 74-75; Megaw 1970, nos. 280-282.
- <sup>22</sup> Schmitz 1991, 77, inscription no. 16 from Koborn-Gondorf, sixth or seventh century: *hec tumulo fecit Hunudrec* = Hunudrec made this grave.
- <sup>23</sup> Werner 1935, 108, coins 4 and 7 (V AD); 114-5, coins 46-58 (VI AD).

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